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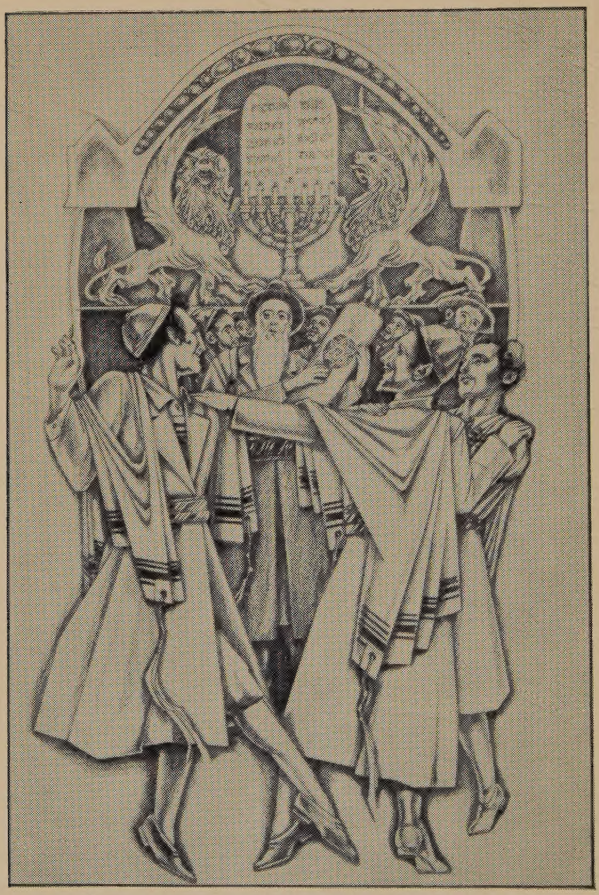

GERSHON FISHER

THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES IN THE MAKING

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BY

MAX L. MARGOLIS

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TO THE MEMORY OF

ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER

SCHOLAR TEACHER MARTYR

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The Three Parts The Hebrew Scriptures are divided into three parts. Each, as may be seen in any Hebrew edition or translation based on the Hebrew, such as the New Translation published by the Jewish Publication Society of America (1917), is preceded by a separate title-page:

Torah תורה — the Law (or Pentateuch, Five Books of Moses);

Nebiim נביאים—the Prophets (in front of Joshua);

Ketubim כתובים — the Writings (in front of Psalms). The whole is then spoken of as Torah, Nebiim, Ketubim (תנ"ך by abbreviation).

The Torah The five books of the Torah are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. The framework of history, within which the Torah proper or Law is enclosed, narrates the life of Moses,and the fortunes of the people he guided,from his call to his death; it is preceded by an introduction largely contained in the first book and dealing with the beginnings of mankind and of the nation through the patriarchal period. Leviticus is wholly given to legal matters; and so is a great part of Deuteronomy; laws are found also in Exodus and Numbers; they are not altogether wanting in Genesis.

Former Prophets The Prophets are sub-divided into two parts: Former Prophets and Latter Prophets. The first part, composed of four books – Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings – contains the history of the people from the conquest under Joshua, through the heroic age of the Judges with its incipient attempts at unification of the tribes, to the founding of the monarchy under Saul and David narrated circumstantially in Samuel, and its progress under Solomon, then during the period of the divided kingdom to the destruction of Samaria(722 before the common era), and lastly during the continued existence of the kingdom of Judah to the fall of Jerusalem (586 B. C. E.) or rather to the release of Jehoiachin from prison (562 B. C. E.), all of which forms the contents of the Book of Kings. First and Second Samuel are counted as one book; so also First and Second Kings.

Latter Prophets The second part consists of three larger prophetical works, mainly embodying addresses, but, as in the case of Jeremiah particularly, also biographical matter concerning the prophets; and one book which is a collection of twelve small prophetic writings (hence the name Minor Prophets, i. e. minor in size). The three larger books are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; the twelve smaller constituting the fourth: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

Ketubim The third section or Ketubim (the Writings) consists of the Book of Psalms, Proverbs, Job (these three are marked off in the Hebrew by a peculiar system of musical notation known as the poetic accentuation); the five Scrolls (Megillot) in the order in which they are read in the synagogue: Song of Songs (Passover), Ruth (Festival of Weeks), Lamentations (Fast of Ab), Ecclesiastes (Festival of Tabernacles), Esther (Purim); then follow Daniel (the reputed writings of a visionary in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar), Ezra-Nehemiah (counted as one book, giving the history of the restoration of the Jewish community in the Persian period), and lastly First and Second Chronicles (also counted as one book; an historical work extending from Adam to the restoration under Cyrus, 538 B. C. E.).

The Order of the Books The order of the books within each division as given above is that of the earliest printed editions of the Hebrew text (Soncino, 1488; Naples, 1491–93; Brescia, 1492–94). This order has been followed in all subsequent editions. In the manuscript copies which antecede the age of printing, the order of the books of the Torah and of the former Prophets is universally the same as in the printed editions. On the other hand, in the books of the Latter Prophets and of the Writings there are notable variations of order. These differences seem to be due to the fact that anciently the Eastern (or Babylonian) Jews arranged these books in one man-

ner, while the Western (or Palestinian) Jews adopted another sequence. So far as we are able to ascertain our printed editions follow the Eastern (Babylonian) order. In an ancient source cited in the Talmud (Baba Batra 14b) the books which follow the Book of Kings are arranged in this order:

Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the Twelve;
Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles.

Observe how in the talmudic order the three writings ascribed to Solomon—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs—are joined together instead of being separated as in our editions. While there are other minor variations of order in the manuscripts, there is a prominent characteristic in all of them which merits attention. In none of them is a book shifted from one of the three divisions into another. The fact would seem to be established that the division into three parts is ancient and universal.

The System of Threefold Division in the Church

If we turn to the Church translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Anglican for example, the threefold division would seem at the first glance nowhere to be apparent. The whole of what Christians denominate the Old Testament is one undivided part. Moreover Ruth occupies a place between Judges and Samuel, Lamentations follows Jeremiah, and Daniel comes after Ezekiel; Chronicles,

Ezra-Nehemiah, and Esther are attached to the Book of Kings; the Latter Prophets of the Hebrew editions are found at the end of the collection, and the remaining books of the third section are placed in the middle. Nevertheless, on closer inspection, there is revealed a principle of threefold division. The parts are:

Historical Books (Genesis-Esther);

Poetical Books (Job, Psalms, and the Solomonic Writings);

Prophetical Books.

This arrangement meets us in the oldest manuscripts of the Greek Translation. It is worth noting that the placing of the Prophets third in order has a parallel in the Additional Prayer on New Year's Day where the ten scriptural citations are made up of three each from Torah, Ketubim, and Prophets, with the tenth once more from the Torah.

It was known in the Second Century B. C. E.

The division of the Scriptures into three sections was known in the second century B. C. E. The Greek translator of the Book of Sirach (chapter VI)speaks, in the preface, of the great and many things that were delivered to Israel 'by the law and the prophets and the others that followed upon them'; of his grandfather,the author of the book, as a student of 'the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers'; then again, speaking of the translated Scriptures, he refers to them as 'the

law, and the prophets, and the rest of the books'. The nondescript terms by which the third division is alluded to correspond to the name 'Writings' (Ketubim) by which it is designated in the Mishna.

The collection anciently one in thought only

The tripartite division so generally vouched for is remarkable if it be remembered that for a long time the collection existed in thought only. The five books of the Torah had always formed a unit or a single scroll, with a blank space of four lines between contiguous books; in public reading only such a scroll might be used, although for the purpose of following the reader or for private study single volumes for each book ('one fifth', *ḥomesh* or *ḥummash*) were permitted. In an ancient source in the Talmud (Baba Batra 13b) the teachers are divided in their opinion as to whether the three parts of the Scriptures may be joined together. According to Rabbi Meir (130–160 of the common era) it is lawful to combine the whole of the Scriptures in one volume; his contemporary R. Judah demands three volumes, one for each of the three parts; the other scholars go still farther and require a single volume for each separate book of the Prophets or of the Writings. Rabbi Judah adduces in support of his opinion a precedent when a certain Boethus, by the authority of Eleazar ben Azariah (90–

The Rabbis slow to permit the Combination of Scriptural Books in a Single Volume

130), had the eight books of the prophets in one volume; but Rabbi Meir cites another precedent for bringing together all the Scriptures in one scroll, with proper blanks between the single books. The latter opinion prevails. It is presupposed in the Mishna, which rules that a volume of Scriptures in the possession of partners may not be divided upon the dissolution of partnership, and is laid down as law in the later Codes. Nevertheless, Maimonides, according to the testimony of his son Abraham, deprecated the union of all of the Scriptures in a single codex (i. e. in book form, consisting of leaves). The point is that in turning the leaves of the second or the third part, they would come to rest upon the first, which would constitute a degradation. According to the rabbis, it is permissible to lay one scroll of the Torah on the top of another, or a single book of the Torah upon another, or either upon the Prophets, but not the reverse; one may not wind the Prophets in a wrapper belonging to the Scroll of the Torah. The Torah clearly possesses a higher degree of holiness than the other two parts of the Scriptures. The Mishna permits the community to sell its market-place,where the people hold worship on fast-days, in order to buy a synagogue; similarly a synagogue may be exchanged for an ark, an ark for wrappers, wrappers for the two latter divisions of the Scriptures, and the Scriptures for the Torah; the reverse process is forbidden (Megillah 4. 1).

Different Degrees of Sanctity

All of which is evidence that the Torah was not only regarded as endowed with a higher degree of sanctity than the Prophets and Writings, but also physically kept apart; and that in earliest times the books of the Prophets and Writings circulated each in a single volume, though some of them might be united. We saw how the twelve Minor Prophets count as one book among the eight Prophets; their union was due solely to the small size of the constituent books; and we know that the union had been effected in the times of Sirach (175 before the common era). In his Hymn of the Fathers(chapters 44–49)he praises the heroes of the nation in chronological order; he mentions the prophets by name, each one in his age; but 'the twelve prophets' are grouped together in this appellation namelessly. It is clear therefore that the twelve little books formed one volume designated by a collective title.

Sirach witnesses to the Union of the Minor Prophets in one Book.

'The Books'

The writer of Daniel cites an utterance of Jeremiah as found in 'the Books' (9. 2). 'The Books', in Greek *biblia* (plural of *biblion*, a book), is at the basis of the English word 'Bible'. The term accordingly meant originally not a single book, but a collection, not necessarily united in one volume. Naturally Daniel's 'Bible' was of smaller compass than ours; it certainly lacked his own book. The collection

of Scriptures was still 'in the making'. The process was not yet consummated; it had, of course, begun.

The Process of Scripture Making

What was this process? To this question there is a traditional and an untraditional answer.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

The traditional answer is contained in a statement which the Talmud cites from a source older than itself (Baba Batra 14b, 15a). 'Moses wrote his own book and the section concerning Balaam (Numbers 22.2–25.9) and Job. Joshua wrote his own book and (the last) eight verses of the Torah. Samuel wrote his own book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the Book of Psalms, incorporating the productions of ten elders: Adam (139), Melchizedek (110), Abraham (89), Moses (90), Heman (88), Jeduthun (39, 62, 77), Asaph (50, 73–83), and the three sons of Korah (42, 44–49, 84, 85, 87). Jeremiah wrote his own book and the Book of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Koheleth. The Men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his own book and the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles, including his own'.

The Meaning of 'wrote'

To understand aright the purport of this account it must at once be conceded that the term 'wrote' cannot possibly have been used with the same meaning throughout. Certainly in the case of Hezekiah and his company, who 'wrote' Proverbs, and of the Men of the

Great Synagogue, who 'wrote' the Twelve, the intended meaning is that the books mentioned were completed and edited by these two bodies. The title to chapters 25 and following in the Book of Proverbs reads: 'These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out.' The collection of Solomonic proverbs was accordingly 'completed' in the days of Hezekiah, and the book then received its final form. So it is with the Twelve. The three concluding writings are those of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who are reckoned among the men of the Great Synagogue. The volume naturally became complete only with their inclusion. On the other hand, we have no right to carry this meaning into all the other instances. Certainly with reference to all those who wrote their own books, the meaning can be only that they actually 'wrote' them, that is, were the authors of them.

The Company of Hezekiah and the Great Synagogue

If Hezekiah, according to Proverbs 25.1, was instrumental in giving final form to one Solomonic writing, the further step was taken to include in the activity of this king and his company also the other two writings which are ascribed to Solomon. Isaiah was naturally counted among 'the men of Hezekiah'; he wrote his own book. Similarly it goes with Daniel and Esther enumerated among the writings 'written' by the men of the Great Synagogue; for Daniel and Mordecai were of them. But peculiarly enough, Ezra is singled out from the

body to which he belonged. It is also by no means obvious why the book of Ezekiel is included in the list of writings issued by the Great Synagogue. Much has been written on this body, and its very existence has been called into question. Here may we fitly deal only with the understanding of it in the Mishna and Talmud. The teachers apparently mean by it the successive spiritual leaders of the restored Jewish community in the Persian period. Simon the Just is spoken of as among the last af that body. It is a mooted question whether Simon I, a grandson of Alexander's contemporary Jaddua, is meant, or Simon II, whose son Onias was deposed by Antiochus Epiphanes, just before the Maccabean uprising. But whether the one or the other, it is clear that the activity of that body of directors of the inner life of the community extended throughout the entire Persian period and beyond it into the times of Greek dominion. It is evidently the intent of the account to mark the time of Ezra as the period in which the collection of Holy Scriptures was completed.

The Process one of Consecutive Addition

The salient point in the traditional account is that the process of Scripture making is described as one of consecutive addition. On the whole a rational spirit pervades the statement. The last eight verses of the Torah, narrating the death of Moses, are ascribed to Joshua. Contrast the view of later teachers who contend that Moses wrote at dictation

the account of his own death and burial. Nevertheless we are dealing with a construction built on specific data, supplied by the Scriptures themselves, which are generalized. Since certain psalms in the Psalter are assigned in their headings to David, the whole of the Psalter, including anonymous productions, is practically attributed to David. The accepted titles of the books, like Joshua, Samuel, are taken to mean writings by these men instead of, as might be maintained, writings concerning them. Naturally summary titles, like Judges and Kings, could not be taken to designate authorship; since Samuel connects with Judges and Ruth deals with an event 'in the days when the Judges judged', the three are ascribed to one author; because the last chapter of Kings is repeated at the end of Jeremiah, the prophet becomes plausibly the author of both. II Chronicles 35.25 suggested that he also wrote Lamentations. Because the scene of Job's life is set in patriarchal surroundings similar to those in Genesis, the book is ascribed to Moses, and in the Syriac translation of the Scriptures it is put immediately after Deuteronomy. But in placing the completion of the Scriptures in the time of Ezra and his associates of the Great Synagogue there is an implied conviction, explicity expressed elsewhere (Sotah 48b), that with the death of the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Holy Spirit was withdrawn from Israel. Hence the Scriptures, as a body of inspired writings, are conterminous with the

long period setting in with the first and concluding with the last prophet.

The Implied Definition of Scriptures met with in Josephus

Incidentally there results a definition of the Holy Scriptures. We meet with it also in the writings of the historian Josephus. The Scriptures are to him the works of an unbroken line of prophets, beginning with Moses and ending in the reign of Artaxerxes (the biblical Ahasuerus). By the grace of divine inspiration, these men obtained a knowledge of the most ancient events, just as they set forth clearly those of their own time exactly as they occurred. 'We possess not (as do the Greeks) a vast number of books disagreeing and conflicting with one another. We have but two and twenty, containing the history of all time; books that are justly deemed trustworthy'. Josephus apparently combined Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah; thus the number was reduced by two. He specifies the five books of Moses, four writings of hymns to God and practical precepts to men (apparently Psalms, Song of Songs, Proverbs, Koheleth), and thirteen historical works (the remaining books). The historian unquestionably reproduced the opinions currently held by the people.

II Maccabees

Somewhat older is the statement in the second prefatory letter loosely attached to II Maccabees (chapter VI). It purports to be derived from the writings and memoirs of Ne-

hemiah in which it was narrated 'how he, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and the letters of kings concerning the holy gifts.' 'In like manner', the writers continue, 'also Judah gathered together for us all those writings that had been scattered by reason of the war, and they remain with us.' The second statement persumably rests upon fact. During the religious persecution which led to the Maccabean uprising, when the scrolls of the Torah were rent in pieces and burnt, and any person was put to death with whom a 'book of the covenant' was found (I Maccabees 1. 56, 57), the sacred books, whether in the Temple or in the Synagogues, had been spirited away and kept in hiding; some may have perished; at the first moment of the restoration Judah collected from every nook and corner all that was left. The first statement may and may not be a reflex of data furnished in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. There the rescripts of the Persian kings concerning gifts to the Temple are reproduced; there mention is made of songs of praise and thanksgiving by Levitical singers according to the command of David (Nehemiah 12.24), and one of them, a cento made up of Psalms 105, 96, and 106, is actually pronounced Davidic (I Chronicles 16.7–36); there also we find the circumstantial account of the reading of the Book of the Torah (Nehemiah 8–10), with which may have been coupled the notion that the 'books about the kings and

prophets', that is, the second section of the Scriptures, were then also collected. The whole therefore amounts to the conception that the three parts of the Scriptures were constituted a 'Library', a collection, in the times of Nehemiah, whom the rabbis include among the Men of the Great Synagogue.

While in the main this traditional conception, in Talmud, in Josephus, in II Maccabees, may have been built up from data in the Scriptures themselves, whether correctly interpreted or not, there is a residue which is not quite reducible to scriptural testimony. Naturally the Scriptures are silent about the date of their own completion. But as the process of Scripture making, according to tradition itself, covered a long period, we may expect the Scriptures to furnish information concerning certain of its parts or single writings. We have seen (chapter I) how the author of Daniel cites Jeremiah from a collection called 'the Books'. He may be alluding to a 'Bible' just short of his own book, or merely to a body of prophetic writings. But whether that body was similar in compass to ours, whether in particuliar it was inclusive of the historical works, we have no means of ascertaining. All that we can say is that 'the Books' included Jeremiah and had other writings besides. It is significant, however, that this is the only instance of a prophetic word found in the Scriptures which is cited from 'Books'. In other cases, as for example when the

The Testimony of the Scriptures

concluding verse of the third chapter of Micah is cited in Jeremiah 26. 18, it is reasonable to suppose that the quotations were derived from books, but the express remark is wanting. The author of Chronicles makes reference to written sources for the history of the kings from David to Manasseh, composed by prophets (Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Abijah, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Isaiah, and nameless seers). Some of these are said to have formed part of the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, and the latter is mentioned elsewhere without further specification as to prophetic authorship. It cannot be maintained exactly that our books of Samuel and Kings are meant. Nevertheless, there is a strong presumption that those books formed the main body of an historical work which he excerpted. He may, of course, have had at his disposal also independent works by prophetic writers. This much is certain that here we meet already with the notion of the unbroken succession of prophet-historians.

The Chronicler

There are references in the Scriptures to other historical works, as for instance in our Book of Kings to 'chronicles' or annals of the kings of Israel and Judah, but these and similar works have perished, except to the extent that material from them was imbedded in the scriptural histories which have survived. Hoewver, these notices of lost writings are helpful to an understanding of the very process at work in the making of the Script-

The Book of Kings

ures. Equally instructive is the report in Jeremiah 36 concerning the manner in which, after an activity extending over twenty-three years, the prophet set about to commit to writing his addresses; his amanuensis Baruch wrote at the prophet's dictation; likewise to him was assigned the task of rewriting the roll, after it was burnt by king Jehoiakim, with many additions. We may be quite certain that the revised and amplified copy entered into the make-up of our Book of Jeremiah, but whether the prophet himself or Baruch or someone else gave final form to the scriptural book cannot be stated positively,

Jeremiah

The Testimony concerning the Torah

In dealing with references to the Torah in the two other parts of the Scriptures we must confine ourselves to those instances in which the whole of it or any part of its contents is spoken of as 'written'. Thus the Chronicler attests as Mosaic a Book of the Torah, in which were found prescriptions concerning the daily offerings and the offerings on sabbaths, new moons, and festivals upon the altar of the burnt-offering (I Chronicles 16.40; II Chronicles 23. 18;31.3), or the second Passover for such as on account of uncleanness were not able to offer it in season (II Chronicles 30.16); and if, on the supposition that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was originally a unit, we add the direct quotation in Nehemiah 13.2, 3 (from Deuteronomy 23.4, 6), the Chronicler's Torah cannot have been different in compass from our own. Daniel's

Torah had in it a 'curse' and an 'oath' pronounced upon disobedience (Daniel 9.11), such as both Leviticus (26) and Deuteronomy (28) contain.

The Torah of Ezra

Similarly the Book of the Law of Moses, which Ezra in the year 444 B. C. E. brought forward in solemn assembly and to which the people bound themselves in a document signed by Nehemiah and other notables, was none other than the Pentateuch. The event occurred in the seventh month, according to the circumstantial report in chapters 8–10 of Nehemiah. On the first day of the month, Ezra, standing upon a platform which had been erected in one of the open squares of Jerusalem, with fellow-priests on either side, opened the Book in the sight of the people. As he opened it, the people stood up, and the reader, as has been the wont ever since, blessed God, the Giver of the Law, while the people raised their hands in thanks to Heaven and answered: Amen, Amen. In the hearing of the people, men, women, and children, Ezra read from early morning until midday. The Levites made the rounds among the standing people, and repeated to them the words read. The reading, we are told, was done distinctly, with the observation of the proper stops, and possibly with accompanying interpretation—in Hebrew, of course, which was then still the language of the people —with the full intention that the sense might be grasped by the audience and the reading understood. The impression upon the hearers was that of gloom; the

people wept as they listened to the word of God hitherto imperfectly heeded and to the threats of national calamity which indeed had become a reality; but at the encouraging words of Nehemiah and Ezra and the teaching Levites the mood soon passed away, and in joyful exaltation over the Law which was theirs to hold and to cherish the people dispersed to their homes. On the second day the reading was continued, this time in the privacy of Ezra's home and before a select gathering of heads of families and priests and Levites, and the portion read concerned the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. The Feast was observed in the manner prescribed in Leviticus 23.40, 42. Day by day the Law was read to the people. On the twenty-fourth day of the month a fast was observed, and the reading from the Torah occupied one fourth of the day. In the document of ratification certain provisions are specified as 'written' in the Torah and others are unmistakably derived from it; the range covers practically the four books of the Pentateuch in which there is legislation. Other regulations, like the offering of the wood, and modifications in the amount of the poll-tax or disposition of the tithe from the Levitical tithe, show that the era of adapting the ancient Torah to new conditions had begun.

Ezra the Scribe Ezra was a 'scribe', a 'ready scribe'. That does not signify a copyist with good penmanship, but rather a 'bookish man', a man of the Book, well versed in the sacred writings, a

scholar and student of the law, the first of a long line of teachers who succeeded him. Nor did Ezra, as is mistakenly held, in the name and by authority of the king of Persia, impose the law upon the Jews, who were not at all willing to receive it. The Torah required for the Jew no sanction at the hands of a foreign ruler; it carried its authority with it. What Ezra sought and obtained from the king was the right of internal autonomy for the re-constituted community; and internal autonomy expressed itself first and foremost in a native judiciary competent to sentence malefactors and to execute judgment, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment (Ezra 7.25, 26).

The Powers conferred upon Ezra

Earlier still, in the eighteenth year of king Josiah (621 B. C. E.) the Book of the Torah, also called the Book of the Covenant, apparently long lost, had been discovered in the Temple, read to the people,and made the law of the realm. The account is found in chapters 22 and 23 of the Second Book of Kings and substantiated by allusions in the Book of Jeremiah,notably the eleventh chapter, where the prophet is described as an 'itinerant preacher' of the promulgated book. Upon the basis of the recovered book immediate measures were taken to re-constitute the religious affairs in the kingdom. Thus idolatrous appurtenances which had been introduced by former kings, like altars to the sun

Josiah's Book of the Covenant

and moon, pillars and poles, horses and chariots dedicated to the sun, were destroyed, and various idolatrous practices, like making children pass through the fire, were forbidden. The ordinances concerning all these articles of worship or rites are found in Deuteronomy, but also in Exodus and Leviticus. The outstanding feature of what may be termed the Act of 621 was the destruction of the 'high places', or country sanctuaries, and the centralization of sacrificial worship in the Temple of Jerusalem. That squares, of course, with the law in Deuteronomy. It is its most characteristic injunction. Nevertheless, as the plain sense of II Kings 23.9 indicates, one of the provisions of Deuteronomy (18.6–8), touching the admission of the priests of the high places to ministrations in the Temple, was found impracticable. Here, as in the case of Ezra, the process of adjusting the Torah to the conditions of the time had set in.

Its Antiquity

The important point, however, is that the author of the account is quite explicit about the antiquity of the recovered book. It was none other than the Torah of Moses (23.25), not merely in the sense that it embodied teachings of Moses, but that it was the very book written by the Lawgiver. Or, as the expression runs in 17.37, it was the Torah written by the Lord at the time of the exodus, which naturally means: written by the Lord through the hand of Moses, or: written by Moses at the dictation of the Lord. David had it and enjoined his son to

keep all that is 'written' therein (I Kings 2.3). It was in the hands of Amaziah, who refrained from putting to death the children of his father's assassins, 'as it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses which the Lord commanded', and a full verse is cited from Deuteronomy 24. 16: 'The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall be put to death for his own sin' (II Kings 14.6). Apparently it is the narrator's opinion that at some point in the subsequent period the book was lost. There is sufficient indication that he believed this loss to have occurred after Hezekiah's reign. That accords with the opinion of certain of the rabbis(Sanhedrin103b) that Amon, Josiah's father, committed the Torah to the flames, on which occasion, according to Rashi, a single copy was rescued and hidden under a layer in the walls of the Temple. Of Ahaz, the father of Hezekiah, the rabbis assert that he had the Torah sealed up.

References to the Torah in Joshua

References to the Mosaic Torah as a written book are found in the Book of Joshua. The successor of Moses, on his assumption of office, is charged to study 'this' Book of the Torah day and night, in order to do according to all that is 'written' therein (1.8). After the destruction of Ai, Joshua erects an altar on mount Ebal, in obedience to the order of Moses—not an oral charge, but 'as it is written in the Book of the Torah of Moses' (8.31). He furthermore writes there on stones

a copy of the Torah of Moses, and then reads in the hearing of the people, men, women, and children, the words of the Torah, the Blessing and the Curse, 'according to all that is written in the Book of the Torah' (8.32–34). It is clear that the injunctions in Deuteronomy 27 are meant. It is impossible, however, to say how much besides Deuteronomy, according to the mind of the writer, there was in the Torah. Medieval Jewish sholars, like Saadya, would have it that only an epitome of the legal portions of the Torah was written on the stones—an epitome, of course, of the whole Torah. In the last chapter of Joshua (verse 26) reference is made to the Book of the Torah of God; Joshua is said to have appended thereto the enactment by which the people bound themselves to worship the Lord solely. But what this Book of the Torah was like is not indicated.

The Testimony of the Torah concerning itself

In the Torah itself it is said of Moses that he wrote at the Lord's command the record of the attack of Amalek (Exodus 17.14) and of the journeyings through the wilderness (Numbers 33. 2). He furthermore wrote the 'Words of the Lord' making up the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exodus 24.4,7). He is also ordered to write down the contents of the covenant of Exodus 34. 10–26 (the matter is largely contained in 23. 10–19). On the other hand, the Ten Words upon the tables of stone, both the first and the last, were written by God (Exodus 24. 12; 32.16; 24.

28; Deuteronomy 10. 2, 4). In Deuteronomy 31. 22,24 Moses is said to have written the 'Song' (Deuteronomy 32) and 'the words of this Torah in a book, until they were finished'. The expression 'this Torah' occurs again and again in Deuteronomy, so, for example, in 31.11 (following upon the statement in verse 9 that Moses wrote 'this Torah' and consigned it to the keeping of the priests) where Moses commands that every seven years, on the Feast of Tabernacles, 'this Torah' be read before the whole people. Naturally the expression may refer to Deuteronomy, but just as well to the whole Pentateuch. The Mishna (Sotah 7.8) decrees that the reading every seven years shall be confined to portions of Deuteronomy. The Jewish commentators are agreed, however, that 'this Torah' which Moses wrote and turned over to the priests was the entire Pentateuch from beginning to end.

CHAPTER III

THE UNTRADITIONAL VIEW

Towards the close of the eleventh century of the common era a Jewish commentator of Cordova, Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, suggested that the second half of the Book of Isaiah, beginning with chapter 40, was the work of a prophet near the end of the Babylonian exile. The break with tradition is remarkable considering that at so early a date as the second century B. C. E. the belief was current that Isaiah son of Amoz, the contemporary of King Hezekiah, wrote the whole book. Thus Sirach (48.24,25) relates of him that 'by a spirit of might he saw what should come to pass at the latter end, and comforted them that mourned for Zion; he declared the things that should be to the end of time, and the hidden things or ever they came'. The same medieval scholar pronounces Psalms 42, 47, 106 to have been penned in Babylon, and the two concluding verses of Psalm 51 were, according to him, added by one of the saints in the Babylonian captivity.

Ibn Chiquitilla on the Second Half of Isaiah

He also assigns several Psalms to the Times of the Exile

In the twelfth century Abraham Ibn Ezra, far-famed as a grammarian and expounder of the Scriptures, al-

Ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch

though repudiating the notion of a bold compatriot that the list of the Edomite kings 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel' (Genesis 30.31) was composed in the times of Jehoshaphat, gives expression in veiled language to the thought that certain passages of the Torah appear to have been written long after Moses. The points seized upon by him are the well-known anachronisms, references to conditions which developed in aftertimes and the treatment of events contemporaneous with Moses in a manner indicating that the writer looks upon them as things of the remote past. The break with tradition is clear enough to him; it is a truth to be spoken of in mysterious tones; 'the prudent doth keep silence'. A century later the commentator Moses son of Nahman of Gerona, was shocked by Ibn Ezra's untraditional views, and denounced him as 'a talebearer that goeth about with open rebuke and hidden love.'

Spinoza

Ibn Ezra's critical comments were taken up in the seventeenth century by the philosopher Spinoza, and carried probably beyond the intent of the Spanish commentator. To Spinoza Ibn Ezra's strictures prove conclusively that the Pentateuch was written 'not by Moses but by someone who lived long after him'. Moses, he conjectures, may have committed to writing certain narratives and laws. Still he would base himself on such evidence as is incontestable. On the whole Spinoza favors the view that Ezra compiled the Pentateuch out of divers sources

which he transcribed and excerpted. The compiler forbore to remove duplications or to straighten out contradictions in detail. Spinoza has been called the father of modern biblical criticism. In one point he transcends his successors. He looks upon the Torah and the historical books which follow, from Joshua to Kings, as one great historical work concerning the antiquities of the Jewish people from the first beginnings to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. E. And the author of this history was Ezra.

In order to offset the attack upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch on the part of the 'freethinkers',

Astruc Jean Astruc, a physician of Montpellier, wrote his 'Conjectures on the original memoirs of which it appears that Moses made use in composing the book of Genesis' (printed 1753). His starting-point is the observation, long noted and variously explained, that through entire chapters or large portions of chapters the name of the Deity appears consecutively either as 'God' (Elohim) or as 'the Lord' (Jhwh). Thus at the opening of Genesis 'God' is employed throughout in chapter 1 and the first three verses of chapter 2, while from there to the end of chapter 4 (with the exception of 4.25 and in the interlocution between the serpent and the woman, 3. 1, 5) we find either the composite 'the Lord God' or simply 'the Lord'. The novel explanation proposed by Astruc is that the change of appellation is the mark of divers writers. The means is thus afforded for recognizing

the constituent writings, originally independent and disparate, but largely parallel in subject-matter. Astruc realizes that his theory constitutes a general solution of all the duplications, contradictions, and disorders in arrangement which hitherto have baffled the ingenuity of commentators. In confining himself to Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus Astruc has no difficulty in persuading himself that Moses derived his knowledge of history from the dawn of creation to his own birth from writings by those that preceded him; these he placed in parallel columns; but at a subsequent period they were copied in consecutive form or worked into one another.

The Theory carried into the other Books of the Pentateuch

When once the process was carried into the other books of the Pentateuch and the same phenomenon of compilation was observed in the narratives dealing with the times of Moses himself, it followed that the compiler must have been someone other than Moses. The successive steps by which the hypothesis was worked out in its entirety need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that by the labors of a galaxy of biblical scholars, chiefly of Protestant Germany and Holland in the nineteenth century, with support from other, including Jewish, quarters, the analysis was perfected and the constituent 'documents' or independent writings were believed to have been neatly separated. The sum of the findings of the school were set forth with much acumen and, one is almost

tempted to say, with great eloquence not quite fifty years ago by Wellhausen. The new opinion operates with internal evidence as furnished by the change of divine names, repetitions, contradictions, incongruities of sequence, and differences of vocabulary and turns of speech. As a result three main strata are made to emerge into view. There is in the first place a body of narrative, itself composite, characterized by the consummate art of story-telling, the vividness of the pictures, the richness in lineaments of detail, their fullness of color and life (one need think only of the Joseph story which is the delight of children); into it was worked a code of laws, the Book of the Covenant of Exodus 21–23, and the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) of Exodus 20. Secondly there is the Code of Deuteronomy with its narrative introductions and postscripts; and, lastly, the Priests' Code to which belong the whole of Leviticus and substantial parts of Exodus and Numbers, together with scattered portions, now larger now smaller, in the remaining books; whatever of narrative it contains serving merely as the framework, dry and pedantic, characterized by attention to genealogies, lists of names, and dates.

Wellhausen

The Dating of the 'Documents'

External evidence supplied by the progress of the nation's history as revealed in the prophetic literature is then called into service to place these three 'documents' into proper chronological sequence.

The Code of Deuteronomy (chapters 12–26 of Deuteronomy) is identified with the Book of the Torah found in the eighteenth year of Josiah. The story of its loss and discovery is pronounced a fiction pure and simple. It had not been written until then. Its purpose was to embody the programme of the party of reformers by whom the king had been won over. Its cardinal demand of restricting sacrificial worship to the Temple at Jerusalem and of doing away with the country sanctuaries was something new, wholly unheard of in the past. By royal decree the Code was made the law of the realm. This official act imparted sanction to the small Book purporting to come from the pen of the ancient lawgiver. This volume was the first of its kind, the cell out of which the whole organism of the Holy Scriptures in due course of time developed.

The Code of Deuteronomy from 621 B. C. E.

Back of Deuteronomy, a century earlier, the component parts of the great historical work of which the Book of the Covenant in Exodus is a part, had been written down. That Code, which is only loosely connected with the body of narrative, is supposed to have been largely a compilation of private initiative which was never promulgated officially. It embodied ancient customary law as it had arisen in successive generations and presupposes in its every part the settled conditions of the centuries

The Narrative Document a Century earlier

after the conquest. It sanctions a plurality of sanctuaries in accordance with the ancient custom antedating Josiah and Deuteronomy. The whole work is synchronous with the rise of the great prophets in the eighth century. It moves along with them, but it does not register the finished product of their aims and strivings. Deuteronomy is the precipitate of the prophetic movement and puts the seal upon it; the older work—Code and narrative—forms its background. Naturally the latter is truer to the past from which it has not cut itself quite loose.

The Priests' Code a Century later

On the lines from Deuteronomy and past the prophet Ezekiel, according to Wellhausen, moves the body of priestly legislation. The two earlier writings project themselves into Mosaic times, but the disguise —say the critics—is transparent enough. The Priests' Code, on the other hand, consistently maintains its assumed role and never for a moment betrays the times in which it was actually composed. But if we probe deeper we shall find that the things which in the Code of Deuteronomy are put forward as a programme still to be realized are here treated as unquestioned realities. The native kingship has disappeared; under the foreign overlord there is room but for a 'prince'; the high priest is making ready to take over the headship of the religious community which has been constructed upon the ruins of the defunct nation. Ezra probably introduced the entire Pentateuch, or his Book of the

Torah may have consisted merely of the Priests' Code. In the latter case the final 'redaction' of the complete Pentateuch would date from times subsequent to Ezra. At any rate the enactment of 444 bases itself squarely upon the Priests' Code which from that year on becomes the norm of Jewish life. It was the second step in the formation of officially accepted, authoritative Scriptures.

The Historical Books

The book of Joshua, it is said, was at first an intergal part of what the critics therefore designate as the Hexateuch (sixfold book). The same three strands observable in the Pentateuch run through the sixth book. Its contents, dealing with the conquest and distribution of the land, form the necessary conclusion to the Pentateuch; there we have the preparation and the laws for the government of the land, here the execution. The historical books which follow Joshua (Judges, Samuel, Kings) are likewise composite; but it is not possible to identify their constituent sources with those discovered in the Pentateuch. Still the compiler must have belonged to the same school which made those additions which we find in front and after the Deuteronomic Code. He is called the Deuteronomist. He was a man impregnated with the ideas of the Deuteronomic legislation, and these furnished the angle from which the past was condemned, solely because it failed to live up to regulations to which it was a stranger. From the pen of this compiler come those

moralizing portions whose theme is the contrast between what should have been and what actually was. But withal the compiler was content with supplying the corrective to the representation of the history of the nation in the older documents excerpted by him; he refrained from recasting it completely. It was reserved for the Chronicler to make good this omission. His undertaking was not the first of its kind; it had had predecessors. The history of the nation from David to the fall of the state was now remodeled in full accord with the legislation of the Priests' Code. The compiler cuts short practically the entire history of the Northern Kingdom. Judah alone enters within his purview; David is glorified; the pious kings are depicted as most zealous observers of the Torah—that is the Torah as the compiler knew it; in the foreground of interest stands the Temple with its priests and Levites, its sacrifices and song ritual. The compiler carried the history beyond the fall of the state by incorporating the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the list of high priests includes Jaddua, the priest who met Alexander the Great at the gates of Jerusalem. Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah thus reveals itself as a work of the Grecian period. Its position in the third division of the Scriptures (chapter I) shows that the second division containing the historical books had been closed.

The Prophetic Collection

The same division has in it also the four strictly prophetic books. We may take them up in the order prescribed in the Talmud (chapter I): Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve. The Book of Jeremiah is very much like in its make-up to the Book of Kings, with which indeed the Talmud couples it as belonging to the same author (chapter II). It is largely biographical and appears to have been compiled by Baruch, who must have used the material of prophetic addresses which he himself wrote down at the prophet's dictation (as above). Ezekiel is practically as the prophet himself left it. Isaiah is no less a collection than the Twelve. Not only is the second half of the book the work of an anonymous prophet living at or after the termination of the Babylonian exile, but even in the first part there is matter which does not belong to the genuine Isaiah.

Radical Views

There is a radical school which operates quite recklessly with the prophetic books as they stand in the Scriptures. According to the view of these scholars, a very small proportion in the volumes of the prophets antecedent to the fall of the state (pre-exilic prophets) may be ascribed to the men whose names the books bear. By far the greater amount is late accretion, dating from post-exilic times, nay, largely from the Maccabean period. In this connection a general theory is propounded both by writers who have a claim to originality and by men

Literary Ownership. Interpolations

who are adepts at popularizing the heavy work done by others. It is that the ancients had no conception of literary ownership. Every reader felt free to annotate a book old or recent, to introduce additions (interpolations), to strike out parts, and in general to publish the book anew under the old title, but in a greatly modified form. As one writer puts it, a gaping blank in the roll or even in a column was an invitation to supplementers to 'enrich' the contents with elaborations of their own. At length the prophetic division was closed. As Daniel was not placed among the prophets (chapter I), the sealing of the second part of the Scriptures must have occurred before the Book of Daniel gained currency and was given scriptural rank. Obviously there is a lapse of time between the writing of a book and its acceptance or recognition. Aproximately therefore the closing took place in the Maccabean period; with the closing process went hand in hand that of interpolation which marked the finishing touches applied to a literature all ready, when original products were no longer forthcoming and imitators plied their trade.

The Third Division

The writings of the entire third division are pronounced to be products of the post-exilic period, that is from the concluding decades of the Persian dominion clear almost to the Roman. Over against the moderate position that certain Psalms are post-exilic and possibly even Mac-

cabean, the exaggerated statement is made that none of the Psalms is of pre-exilic date. By an erroneous construction put upon a notice in the Mishna which we reserve for discussion below (chapter VI) the contention is made (and repeated without further examination by popularizing authors) that the third division was not closed until two decades after the fall of the second Temple.

The Entire Process

Thus, roughly speaking, the process of the making of the Scriptures as a body of sacred writings invested with authority and generally recognized as such, passed through three stages each separated from the other by an interval of two or three centuries; the Torah was completed about 400 B. C. E., the Prophets about 100 B. C. E., and the Ketubim about 100 C. E. The beginnings of the process must be placed in 621 B. C. E. when Deuteronomy was promulgated.

The Place of the Torah

In the light of the critical position as outlined in this chapter it will, however, be understood that the critics by no means make of the Torah the earliest written book. It was simply the earliest to be recognized, accepted, and elevated to scriptural rank. The prophetic writings in their genuine pre-exilic parts have been committed to writing at an earlier period, but they circulated only as private volumes in the possession of disciples or admiring followers. In the language of the critical school, 'the prophets antedate the Torah and both

the Psalter', or 'the Law came in between'. Accordingly, the Torah is an interloper in the spiritual progress initiated by the prophets and still alive in the piety of the psalmists; the form of religious polity and life created by it constitutes 'an immense retrogression'.

Opponents of the Critical Theory

There is a more moderate school, which, while at one with the methods of modern criticism as applied to the Scriptures, refuses to accept the conclusions in their entire range. Thus it evinces a tendency to raise the date of the biblical books; in particular it considers the Priests' Code to have antedated Deuteronomy. But the critical theory was wholly rejected by the orthodox wing without, however, influencing the great mass of students who are taught to look upon the opponents of the critical results as reactionaries. Catholic scholars carried the discussion into their own circles, and at length official action by the Church became imperative. In 1907 a Papal Commission brought in a report declaring Moses to have been the author of the Pentateuch in the sense that he conceived the work in detail but left the execution of the undertaking to collaborators whose finished product he approved; he also made use of older sources, whether written documents or oral traditions, wherever necessary; it is also conceded that additions and slight alterations crept in during its further course of transmission.

Present-Day Status of Criticism

But even in Protestant circles there has been a shifting of positions. Much greater stress is now laid on the stage of oral transmission which preceded the written documents; their process of development is shown to have been a protracted one, so that in their beginnings they mount up quite close to the times and conditions of which they tell. By using to advantage our more extented knowledge of the ancient Orient it is possible to show how whole circles of ideas which used to be placed in post-exilic times belong to the very earliest epochs in the life of the nation. At no time was Palestine isolated from contact with the great world beyond, and the Mosaic times, nay even the age of the patriarchs, reveal themselves as periods when East and West left their cultural deposits in the soil on which Abraham and Moses trod. We cannot now, as was at one time the vogue, discuss seriously whether the art of writing was known in the Mosaic times. We know of the code of laws promulgated by a Babylonian king (Hammurapi) nearly eight centuries earlier. Moreover, the whole of the resolution of the Pentateuch into its documents as developed by the critical school has within recent years suffered a setback, and at this moment this as many another question in the criticism of the Scriptures may be said to have been re-opened.

The Attitude of Jewish Scholars

The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the newer Jewish learning which is characterized by explorations in the whole range of Jewish antiquity along historical and critical times. Zunz, who with Rapoport opened the new era, began and concluded his literary career with short studies in the scriptural field. The Book of Ezekiel was to him a work produced in times subsequent to Ezra; the third book of the Torah, Leviticus, he considered to be of a still later period, and the earliest evidence of the existence of the complete Pentateuch he placed some three centuries after Josiah. These extravagant notions, the proof for which was presented in a summary, almost laconic, manner were repudiated by Geiger. Much as Geiger had broken with the authority of the Torah in practice, he maintained the priority of Leviticus as compared with Deuteronomy, although he conceded late, post-exilic accretions in the third book of the Torah. Yet Kalisch in England was moving in the line of the 'advanced' position quite ahead of Wellhausen; but Kalisch stood somewhat aside from the main current of the Jewish learning of his age. In Italy, Luzzatto, the foremost Jewish student of the Scriptures in the nineteenth century, would not so much as admit that the second half of Isaiah was not from the pen of Isaiah the contemporary of Hezekiah. Graetz, the historian of the Jewish people, had no scruples about placing Koheleth in the time of Herod and several Psalms in

Maccabean and even post-Maccabean times. Krochmal likewise had conceded the Maccabean date of certain Psalms and developed the idea that Koheleth was the last written book, its concluding verses being the collector's epilogue to the entire body of Scriptures. The pentateuchal question, which Krochmal had not treated at all, was disposed of by Graetz in a few pages and later on in a brief essay. He resolutely brushed aside the dominant Protestant theory as developed by Wellhausen. According to Graetz, the first four books were in existence under king Ahaz, the various legislative parts having been publicly promulgated under Joash and Uzziah. The Book found in the Temple was Deuteronomy, thus completing the Pentateuch. The trend of the labors of the whole of the 'historical school', as Schechter so well recognized, was to steer clear of the Scriptures and to concentrate instead upon a study of the post-biblical literature and history and to exalt the free spoken word as it kept touch with the religious needs of each age above the written word. Schechter himself pleaded for a renewed study of the Scriptures on the part of Jewish scholars, from the point of view of a 'Jewish liberalism'. It cannot be said that there is to-day a corporate expression of Jewish liberal opinion on the critical questions presented by the Scriptures. Yet it must not be forgotten that, as the author of the 'Guide for the Perplexed of our Times' rightly points out, each age has its methods of dealing with questions affecting the Scriptures. 'To

say with the ancients that David penned prophetically Psalm 137 ('By the rivers of Babylon') will not produce in modern minds the same emotions of hope and trust and faith; but the same effect will be produced when our younger generation is made to see the depth of affection for country, nation,and God which animated that Levitical singer as he was carried away captive to a foreign land and vowed that he would not forget the ancient home.'

Tradition and Criticism

Tradition, or that which passes for it, and Untradition, which goes by the name of criticism, are quite far apart in their results. But in one respect they seem to be at one. Both know by whom and when every book of the Scriptures, nay, every chapter and verse and every infinitesimal bit of the sacred text, was written; they know also the sequence of the writings in the process of public recognition. Tradition may be shown to rest upon scriptural data, perhaps imperfectly understood, and therefore to constitute a mere opinion; Untradition operates with evidence likewise derived from the Scriptures, possibly more successfully apprehended, and tends to be hardened into a tradition of the critical school unquestioned by its followers. True criticism will bend before no opinion whether ancient or modern; it recognizes no master but that tradition which when all is said and done is found to be based not on opinion, but on fact. There is no other approach to antiquity except through tradition. The road is beset with

difficulties which no earnest student can afford to minimize, and the injection of a measure of 'learned ignorance' will at least save us from that dogmatic assurance which clings to traditionalists and untraditionalists alike. The data are scanty and not always unambiguous; a point here and a point there may be firmly held, but the connecting line must needs be drawn by our own hand.

A Newer Method of Approach

A clear insight will show that the lines do not always run straight; they waver and break and go to and fro and up and down; there is much intertwining and interlacing. Indeed the process of Scripture making will reveal itself not as one of consecutive addition of a second category after the first was well established and of a third when the second had been joined on to the first, but rather as one of consecutive enlargement within the three parts, all of which co-existed from the very beginning, and each of which, whatever its compass for the time being, remained identical in its character throughout the whole of the formative period.

CHAPTER IV

TORAH, WORD, AND WISDOM

The Tripartition Ancient

The tripartition of Holy Writ as traditionally given has been traced to the second century B.C.E. (chapter I). But it mounts up much higher. When Ezekiel (7.26) describes the consternation of the people as the end, the national catastrophe, approaches, he represents them as seeking in vain a 'vision' at the hands of the prophet, the priests at a loss to furnish *torah*, and the elders unable to offer counsel. Jeremiah's antagonists meet his predictions of evil defiantly with the assurance that there will be *torah* forthcoming from the priest, and the 'word' from the prophet, and 'counsel' from the wise man (Jeremiah 18.18).

Triple Source of Revelation

Accordingly, the people, in their perplexity, whether in national or in private affairs, have at their disposal a triple means of lifting the veil, of obtaining enlightenment, of ascertaining the will and purpose of the Deity; hence, a triple source of revelation. Jehoshaphat, on the eve of the campaign against the Arameans at Ramoth (I Kings 22.5), or the expedition against Moab (II Kings 3.11); Josiah, when confronted with the consequences of the long disobedience of the Law of Moses now recovered (22.13); Zedekiah, battling against the

invading foe and uncertain as to the efficacy of Egyptian succor (Jeremiah 21.2; 37.7); Rebekah, wishing to know what the struggle of her sons within her portends (Genesis 25.22); any person on an errand like Saul's (I Samuel 9.9), or litigants unable to compose their differences (Exodus 18.15)—they all are eager to 'seek' or 'inquire of' God through the instrumentality of his agents, whether prophets or priests. Both were to be found in or near the sanctuaries; thither the people resorted on sabbaths and new moons (II Kings 4.23) and fast-days (Jeremiah 36.6), and there they asked to be instructed in the ways of the Lord and His righteous ordinances (Isaiah 58.2).

Torah

Torah is used preeminently of the *priest's* instruction. Naturally the priests would be considered experts in ritual matters pertaining to the distinction between holy and common, clean and unclean (Leviticus 11.10; Ezekiel 44.23). The prophet

The Ritual Torah

Haggai asks of the priests a decision in a matter of this kind; he asks of them *torah*. 'If one bear hallowed flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage or wine, or oil, or any food, shall it become holy?' The answer is: No. 'If one that is unclean by a dead body touch any of these, shall it be unclean?' Yes, the priests reply (Haggai 2.11–13). The subjects fall within the province of the great body of legislation in Leviticus with its larger and smaller sections each designated at the head or at the bottom as a *torah*:

This is the *torah* of (i.e. dealing with) the burnt-offering, or the sin-offering; this is the *torah* of the animals that may be eaten and may not be eaten; of the woman giving birth to a child; of the leper; and so on.

Legal Decrees

But the priest is also *judge* (Ezekiel 44.24); the Deuteronomic legislation makes provision for local courts and for the highest court of appeals at the central sanctuary, with the priests as the predominating element (Deuteronomy17.8–13; II Chronicles 19.5–11). The legal decree, or 'judgment', is called *torah*; the sum of the legislation in chapters 21 and 22 of Exodus is designated as 'judgments' (21.1; 24.3). To the priest the husband takes his wife suspected of infidelity (Numbers 5.15); in the presence of the priest men and women poured

In Matters of Conscience

out their soul before God (I Samuel 1. 15); it was for him to hold persons to their vows and to their plighted word (Deuteronomy 23.24; see Numbers 30.2–17), and he received confessions (Leviticus 5.5; Numbers 5.7). He was accounted the messenger of the Lord:at his mouth the people sought *torah*, and he turned away many from sin (Malachi 2.6, 7).

Ministering at the sanctuary, blessing the people, and teaching *torah* constituted the priest's activity

Torah Comprehensive in its Meaning

(Deuteronomy 10.8; 33.10). Jeremiah (2.8) speaks of the priests as 'those that handle the Torah'; and Hosea (4.6) upbraids those of his day

as derelict in their duty of communicating the knowledge of God to the people. Into the priest's keeping was placed the sum of instruction for any and every emergency in the life of the nation and in that of the individual, the whole of the Torah of God, just as it was he who, in possession of the Light and Truth (Urim and Thummim), was consulted in all weighty matters of state by Saul and David (I Samuel 14.36; 23.2 and elsewhere), and their trials and afflictions were cheerfully borne by the ephod-clad minister of God (I Kings 2.26).

The 'Vision' or 'Word'

Just as the *Torah* was the *priest's*, so the 'vision' or the 'word' was the *prophet's*. Prophecy and priesthood might be united in one and the same person, as in the case of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and for that matter Moses, who officiated at the ordination of Aaron and his sons (Leviticus 8). In early times the two functions were probably indistinguishable. Yet a differentiation set in when each reached its full growth. In the main the priest was concerned with the ordinary business of life which is much the same at all times and partakes of routine, and he was hedged in by precedent. The prophet dealt more with emergencies, with unique situations, and his message is rooted in all the attendant circumstances of his day, forceful to the extent that it is impulsive. Soberness marks the priest. The prophet walks in a trance during which he receives his 'visions'

Priest and Prophet

and 'auditions'; his realm is the subconscious, and his enthusiasm borders on the pathological. The hand of God rests heavy on him (Isaiah 8.11; Ezekiel 3.14); the spirit carries him hither and thither (I Kings 18. 12; Ezekiel 3.14 and elsewhere); he is powerless to resist the inward impulse, shut up in his bones like a consuming fire (Jeremiah 20.9); he loves solitude (15. 17) and affects the bizarre; he not only speaks the word, but acts it out (Isaiah 20.2; Jeremiah 27.2; Ezekiel 24.24) ; he is accounted a madman (Hosea 9. 7). He is always in conflict with the present order of things; compromise, half-way measures are not to his liking; in his one-sided accentuation of the ideal consists his greatness. Opposition he condemns as stubbornness; the nation if it is to be saved must retrace its steps, 'return', that is, repent, and the heart of stone must be converted into a heart of flesh (Ezekiel 11.19), become receptive instead of obdurate. Like the priests, the prophets sometimes live in conventicles, surrounded by younger disciples, 'sons of the prophets' (I Kings 20.35); but they form no hereditary caste; and the true prophet, like Amos, refuses to be identified with guild-members; he is an individualist.

Conflict between Prophets and Priests

Prophets and priests look askance at each other; the priest would regulate prophecy and assume jurisdiction over the prophet; witness the encounter between Amos and Amaziah the priest of Bethel, and Jeremiah and Pashhur the priest of Jeru-

salem (Amos 6.10; Jeremiah 20, 1). The priest has on his side the constituted authorities and the *Torah*. The prophet speaks out with courage (Micah 3.8) and over against the priestly *Torah* in which ritual matters are intermixed with moral injunctions he proclaims as all-sufficient the prophetic sum of moral duty. To that he of a set purpose applies the sacerdotal term *Torah* (Isaiah 1.10; Jeremiah 6.19). To the prophet's mind the divine Law could not concern itself with the sacrificial worship; the duties which it inculcated dealt rather with social justice and might be summed up most briefly in 'doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God'—not showily, by the display of calves and rams and rivers of oil, such as the priests commanded, and the exaggerated piety of surrendering one's first-born (Micah 6.6–8). In short, the prophet accused the priests of falsifying the Torah of God (Jeremiah 7.31); at best they could only maintain that the objectionable laws were given by the Deity for the express purpose of destroying the wicked people (Ezekiel 20.25, 26). A new covenant would supersede the old covenant of the exodus, when the Torah would be written in the people's heart and the knowledge of the Lord be taught no more, for all will know Him (Jeremiah 31. 33, 34).

Conflicts between Prophets and Prophets

Not only did prophets and priests often oppose each other; but prophets and prophets likewise clashed. Micah inveighs against those

easy-going preachers who talk of wine and strong drink and delude the people by their optimistic messages of peace. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are constantly at odds with these 'false' prophets. A classic example is afforded by the encounter between Jeremiah and Hananiah (Jeremiah 28). They categorically contradict each other and each accuses the other of tampering with the truth. To Hananiah's mind Jeremiah was the 'false prophet'. But history confirmed Jeremiah to have been in the right.

Between Priests and Priests

There were also differences between priests and priests. When 'there was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right (see Deuteronomy 12.8) in his own eyes', a Levitical priesthood, tracing its ancestry to Moses, maintained itself in Dan in rivalry with Shiloh, and this Danite sanctuary was equipped with a molten image wrought by the goldsmith (Judges 17 and 18). The 'royal sanctuary' at Bethel similarly possessed a golden calf, i. e. the image of a young bull, the symbol of Joseph's strength (I Kings 12.28; Hosea 8.5, 6; Deuteronomy 33.17). The priesthood of Shiloh, of whom Eli was a worthy representative, was set aside by Solomon, who raised up the branch of Zadok to minister at the new Temple at Jerusalem (I Samuel 2.35; I Kings 2.27). The Elide Abiathar had sided with Adonijah, while Zadok supported the claims of Solomon and was abetted by the prophet Nathan (I Kings 1.7, 45). The Elides, thrust

out from the Temple in the capital, attached themselves to the 'high places' in the country towns, and when these were abolished, they were degraded to the ranks of lower service in the central sanctuary (I Samuel 2.36; Ezekiel 44.10–14). Thus priests who favored image worship opposed those who proscribed images; Levites holding to a plurality of sanctuaries were in conflict with the centralizing priests-Levites belonging to the Zadokite family. In the rebellion of Korah against Aaron (Numbers 16) and in Aaron's own participation in the worship of the golden calf (Exodus 32) we have echoes of struggles which ascend into Mosaic times.

Wisdom

And, lastly, 'counsel' was sought at the hands of the *wise man*, or of the *wise woman*. The gift of wisdom might be found in man or woman, just as we find prophetesses of acknowledged authority by the side of prophets. As 'king' in Hebrew denoted originally the 'counsellor', and the scriptural 'judge', like his Carthaginian counterpart, was the highest magistrate, there were at times women judges and queens regnant. (It is characteristic that the Scriptures know of no 'priestesses', such as the Phoenicians, for example, had.) Now counsel or wisdom might be sought by the individual in his daily affairs when a specially complicated or knotty question presented itself, or by the nation and its representatives in a grave crisis. Men of low station would turn to tried friends of their own or of their families, and

kings and dignitaries of state surrounded themselves with competent advisers.

The Precursor of Science

Wisdom, like our science of which it is the precursor, is built upon experience, upon shrewd observation; naturally it was looked for in persons of ripe years, in the 'elders'. The young are the inexperienced, heedless of peril, thoughtless of consequences; the elders know beforehand what the issue will be and are forewarned by their vision ahead. They are able to cite precedent; the accumulated wisdom of generations is in their possession; they have their lore, 'which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it' (Job 15.18). 'For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing'; it is therefore fitting that one should 'inquire' of the former generation, so as to possess oneself of 'that which the fathers have searched out' (8.8, 9).

The 'Mashal'

This traditional lore takes on the form of wordly-wise maxims, pithy, sententious, replete with wit and humor, indulging in genial banter or bitter sarcasm, with a bent for detecting likenesses or contrasts, with the entire realm of human and animal action to choose from. It is the 'mashal', at once proverb, parable, fable, and ballad, figurative speech and dark saying, riddle-like and enigmatic, didactic poem and speculative discourse, simple in its beginnings so as to be comprised within the compass of a sentence or two, yet at the height of its perfection making up so complex a dramatic work as Job.

International and Utilitarian

The 'mashal', particularly the short one, travelled from mouth to mouth, from nation to nation; it was international. Furthermore, the 'mashal', whether it pertains to the government of an individual or of a nation, whether it teaches the rules of husbandry (Isaiah 28.29)or the conduct of warfare (36.5; Proverbs 20. 18), has a touch of the practical, its morality is utilitarian—it pays to be honest, thoughtful, kind—and its outlook upon life is tinctured with scepticism. The sententious remark of the wise woman of Tekoa, 'For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again' (II Samuel 14.14), has in it embryonically the philosophy of Koheleth who with the shrug of a shoulder wonders: 'Who knoweth whether the spirit of man goeth upward and the spirit of the beast goeth downward to the earth?' (Ecclesiastes 3.21).

Wisdom Competes with Prophecy

Wisdom arrogated to itself an inerrancy not unlike that of prophecy. 'Now the counsel of Ahithophel, which he counselled in those days, was as if a man inquired of the word of God' (II Samuel 16.23). It welled up from the depths of the 'heart', which is the Hebrew for 'mind', exactly as the prophetic word came from the 'heart', filling it like a burning fire. Like the enthusiasm of the prophet, the flashes of wisdom, no less than the skill and talent of the artist craftsman (Exodus 31.3), proceeded from the 'spirit': 'surely it

is a spirit in man, and the breath of the Almighty that giveth them understanding' (Job 32.8). The wise man has a religion of his own; somewhat like the philosophers who speak of 'world-soul' or 'supreme intelligence', he operates with 'Almighty' and 'God' —universal appellations which antedate the Mosaic revelation—and 'Elohim' means just as much to Koheleth as 'Deus' does to Spinoza. Wisdom

The Higher Wisdom is more than a body of rules for the regulation of human conduct. There is a higher Wisdom which is tantamount to the formula of the universe, the secret of which God has reserved for Himself; it had pre-mundane existence, it was the first of God's works, 'from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was' (Proverbs 8.22–30).

Wisdom also Competes with the Priest's Torah But wisdom competes not only with prophecy (see Ecclesiasticus 24.33); it also assumes for its teaching the priestly term *torah* (Proverbs 3.1 and frequently). It has its own set of 'commandments'; it would have them, like the words of the Torah (Deuteronomy 6.6, 8, 9), written upon tablets bound on the neck and resting against the heart.

The Challenge Met The challenge of the wise men was met by prophet and priest. Masters of the literary art as the prophets were, they showed themselves on occasion adepts in the lore of the wise whose very language they imitated (Isaiah 29.24),

and the 'ballad-mongers'of Jerusalem were to them an object of scorn (28.14). The Lawgiver pointedly makes claim that the Torah is the sum of Israel's 'wisdom and understanding'; as such it is self-sufficient, there is nothing to add and nothing to diminish (Deuteronomy 4.2, 6).

Rationalism Side-tracked

On the other hand, Hebrew wisdom was far from being the product of one-sided rationalism. With the Greeks rationalism developed into ruthless logic and pure science. Religion was subordinated to philosophy, and the Olympian gods were ruled out of existence by the dialectics of the 'sophists', the teachers of wisdom. There was just a tendency towards secularism in Israel, but it was nipped in the bud by prophecy. 'Lean not unto thine own understanding' (Proverbs 3.5). That precludes scientific investigation. 'The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord'. That means that philosophy is the handmaid of religion. This check upon self-sufficient wisdom, however, must not be conceived as introduced at a late date. Hebrew wisdom, as it went hand in hand with prophecy, was impregnated with the religious spirit which provided the corrective where there was any inclination to unbounded rationalism.

The 'Song'

An offshoot of the 'mashal' was the 'song'. The inarticulate expressions of joy over the harvest (Isaiah 9.2),the shouts of the vintners in the vineyards (16.10), the acclaim of a new king (I

Kings 1.40) or of a returning hero (Judges 11.25), all these formed themselves into songs accompanied by music and dancing. There were songs at banquets, when wine was freely imbibed (Isaiah 5.12; 24. 8, 9), among the young men as they gathered together (Lamentations 5.14), among the maidens in their dances (Jeremiah 31.12; see Exodus 15. 20, 21), or when the daughter went forth from her father's house to follow her newly wedded husband (Genesis 31.27); and there were professional singers of both sexes (II Samuel 19.36; Ecclesiastes 2.8). The gifted singer, the minstrel, the poet, as he moved his hearers, was himself moved by the touch of the divine afflatus, he was inspired, 'the spirit of the Lord spoke by him, and His word was upon his tongue' (II Samuel 23.2). As it goes with the operations of the spirit, no set of emotions is released but it affects the whole of the inner man. Music and prophecy go together (I Samuel 10. 5); as the minstrel plays, the hand of God comes upon Elisha (II Kings 3.15); Ezekiel complains that the people ignore his stern admonitions and have an ear only for his pleasing voice and minstrelsy (Ezekiel 33.32).

Ballads There were songs having for their subject the exploits of the heroes of the nation in the Wars of the Lord, when 'the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies' (Joshua 10.13); when 'the stars in their courses fought, and from heaven the Lord

wrought acts of victory' (Judges 5.11, 13, 20). There were ballad-singers, reciters of 'mashals' (Numbers 21. 27), who in mock pity taunted the defeated foe. Story-telling in Israel was not suffered to remain an idle pursuit for the purpose of entertainment. In the mouth of a gifted bard it assumed a didactic tone, it was designed to teach a lesson, it was *torah* and *mashal*, 'sententious sayings concerning days of old, which the fathers told, that the generation to come might know, even the children that should be born, who should arise and tell them to their children, that they might put their confidence in God, and not forget the works of God' (Psalm 78.1–7). Thus the prophets, after the wont of preachers, wove the stories of the past into their discourses in order to drive home a lesson, to contrast with the idealized past the ignoble present. The prophetic literature abounds in examples, and the oldest of the 'writing' prophets, Hosea for example, introduces in measured lines many a saw from the hoary past. Song everywhere precedes prose; midway stands the long oration, masterly in its lofty diction and stately periods, whose theme is exhortation and in which the remembrance of incidents in antiquity leads to the peroration with its persuasive appeal to the immediate audience: 'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord require of thee?' At the home, at the shrines, the children were wont to ask questions: 'What is this? what mean ye by this service?'; and the answers given dilated circumstan-

tially upon the wondrous deeds of the Lord from the beginnings, when He made Israel His own at the time when He delivered the fathers from the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage, through the succeeding generations, when He sent them a deliverer in all their troubles. There were cycles of prose narrative which naturally increased with each period.

The 'Song of Loves' The 'song of loves', the epithalamium on the occasion of the nuptials of a king—most probably Ahab—to a Tyrian princess, which we read now as Psalm 45, was certainly not the only one of its kind. The prophet Isaiah prefaces his stern discourse of chapter 5 with a 'song of loves' touching the vineyard of 'my well-beloved'; how he cared for it, how he planted it with the choicest vine, and in the end it brought forth wild grapes. It is a 'mashal', and the prophet supplies the meaning. 'For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel.'

Psalmody The rigorism of the prophets destroyed the expressions of natural joy. Israel was not to rejoice like the nations(Hosea 9.1). A sombre tone had been struck, and lyric poetry exhausted itself in psalmody. Songs were heard in the night when a feast was hallowed, or in the procession of pilgrims as they ascended the Temple mount (Isaiah 30.29). At the sanctuary the worshippers would join in a shout of jubilation; as time went on it developed into hymns of adoration (*hallel*, *tehillah*) with the

recurrent refrain: Praise ye the Lord (*Hallelujah*). The prophets, if needs be, know how to introduce into their discourses hymns of praise, songs glorifying the strong arm of the Lord as it wrought salvation in primeval days (compare Isaiah 51. 9, 10 with Psalm 74.12–17).

The Dirge The 'dirge' was a species of song. It was a song of woe over the departed, when grief was expressed in such short exclamations as 'Ah my brother', 'Ah sister', 'Ah lord, ah his glory.' In course of time it assumed the form of skilfully elaborated poetic lamentations,such as David's laments over Saul and Jonathan (II Samuel 1.19–27) or Abner (3. 33, 34), which required the services of professionals, men and women singers (II Chronicles 35.25), 'skilful of wailing'(Amos 5.16), especially of 'mourning women' who were also called 'wise women' (Jeremiah 9. 16). Thus the lamentation, or elegy, is not only linked to the song, threnody to psalmody, but also to wisdom. The prophets, again, frequently have occasion to use it; it becomes in their hands a 'mashal' (Isaiah 14.3; Micah 2.4).

CHAPTER V

THE THREE SHELVES

Difficulty of Dating a Book like Job

Torah, Prophecy, and Wisdom thus co-existed as manifestations of the nation's spiritual life, crossing and re-crossing each the path of the other, and their very rivalry was productive of giving and taking. There is no reason to believe that the course which the written form took was in any wise different. Tradition places itself squarely upon this position. The writings of the third division of Scriptures are made contemporaneous with those of the second and even with the first. Job, the Psalter, Koheleth were written in the times of Moses, David, Isaiah (chapter II). There is great difficulty in dating these books with anything like accuracy. We shall probably not accept the traditional dates. But when left to ourselves, we have so little to go upon. When was Job written? The moderns are quite divided in their answers: in the seventh century close upon the fall of the Northern Kingdom; in the sixth before or during the Babylonian exile; in the fifth after the exile immediately before the appearance of the Priests' Code.

The historical Allusions too General

The poet makes allusion quite generally to the movements of nations away from their homes

multiform

(12.23); but such dislocations were as old as the history of the Orient, and there is no evidence that the fate of Israel or of Judah was before the author's mind. No less vague are the references to a land given into the hand of wicked magistrates or governors (9.24), or to strangers overrunning a land and disturbing its wonted mode of life (15.19). Job curses the day of his birth (3.3) and so does Jeremiah (20.14); but who will tell which of the two, if either, is dependent upon the other?

The Problem Universal

Nor does the problem with which the book deals shed light on the time of its composition. It is the ever-recurring question of the 'prosperity of the wicked' and the 'sufferings of the righteous' as compatible with divine retribution and the just government of the world. It touches a universal experience of mankind and may have arisen at any time. All that can be said is that it belongs to the sphere of wisdom. It was propounded among the wise men of Edom as well as among the teachers of wisdom in Israel. It recurs in Koheleth. The prophets were agitated by it: Malachi, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Jeremiah. The great nameless prophet of the exile constructed the ideal figure of the Suffering Servant. In the Torah the question of deferred punishment and the share of children in the sins of the fathers is touched upon. The poet understood too well that his theme belonged to all ages, and he wisely refrained from dealing with it in terms of his own place and time. He has no answer to a question which he

was neither the first nor the last to raise. It is insoluble. He recognizes it as such whether in titanic defiance he exaggerates the self-sufficiency of the human conscience, or in seeming meekness he is overpowered by the divine Omniscience. A subtle irony pervades his resignation, which is not quite of the pious kind. The higher Wisdom is known to God alone; to men He imparted a little wisdom: the fear of the Lord and turning away from evil!

The Psalter The Psalter, divided like the Torah into five books, reveals itself as a combination of smaller bodies of psalms or hymns and testifies to a process of successive enlargement. Thus we find a 'Korahitic' group in the second book, the 'Songs of the Ascents' in the fifth, the Hallelujah psalms. The subscription at the end of the third book (Psalm 72. 20),'the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended', was apparently taken over from some smaller collection, for 'Davidic' psalms are found later on. Just when the first collection was made escapes our knowledge. We do not know when and by whom the headings were appended, with their specifications of authorship and musical directions of which the meaning is largely obscure. Psalm 90 is attributed to Moses; 73 psalms to David, two to Solomon, and 26 to various temple singers or guilds of such, all dating, according to the Chronicler, from the times of David who is credited by him with the institution and regulation of the song liturgy of the Temple.

The Temple Service David was known anciently as a skilful musician (I Samuel 16.18) and a lyric poet (II Samuel 1. 17; 3.33; Amos 6. 15). At the sanctuaries, vocal and instrumental music accompanied the service (Amos 5.23). At an early date the song service in the Temple at Jerusalem must have been organized. The singers were often themselves poets, or else they obtained poems from other writers and sometimes adapted existing productions to their own needs. The Temple was the centre of piety, of worship. All that was highest in the spiritual life of the community gravitated round the sacred edifice. There men poured out their soul before God; thither they carried their tribulations, their doubts, their searchings of heart; from thence they took home renewed trust, forgiveness, redemption. How those saints loved the house of God, how their souls longed for the Temple courts where there were throngs of like-minded, how they sang for joy unto the 'living God'! Abroad their faith might falter and their foot well-nigh slip; within, as they entered into the sanctuary, they found their highest good in being near unto God. 'Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and beside Thee I desire none upon earth. My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the rock of my heart and my portion for ever' (Psalm 73.25, 26).

Difficulty of Dating the Psalms It is in the essence of so lofty a piety that, though its manifestation is conditioned by circum-

stances of place and time, it lifts itself so far out of touch with life's affairs as to transcend both, and great difficulty will always attach to dating a psalm purely from its contents. It seems reasonable to suppose that Psalm 137 was not penned before the Babylonian captivity. Psalm 79 and several others in which reference is made to the defiling of the Temple and the martyrdom of the saints might date from the events which led to the Maccabean uprising; but an earlier occurrence may fit the veiled allusions just as well. It is pointed out that the clash between the saints and their worldly opponents which runs through the whole Psalter became acute during the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. It is then that the 'saints' (*ḥasidim*) organized themselves as a religious party. But it stands to reason that the conflict was long in preparation and that for centuries, even before the exile, 'separatists' and 'liberals' fought for ascendancy. Alcimus and Menelaus and Jason had their prototypes in the opponents of Ezra and Nehemiah who were eager to make peace with the Samaritans, in Manasseh and Ahab and Jeroboam who coquetted with foreign cultures, in all those who would fuse Mosaism and Canaanism; just as Judah the Maccabee and his saints-warriors were the spiritual descendants of Ezra and Josiah and Hezekiah, of Isaiah and Hosea, of Elijah and Samuel, of the zealot-priest Phinehas and Moses, God's 'saintly man'.

It is a preposterous contention that no psalm dates

from pre-exilic times. Psalms were written and psalms were assembled in collections from the earliest days. The third chapter of Habakkuk is a psalm; so is the twelfth chapter of Isaiah and the song of Exodus 15.

Psalms outside the Psalter

Hymns of praise, similar in character to the psalms, are introduced into the prophetic discourses. Conversely the spirit of the prophets and of the Torah dominates the piety of the psalmists. Saints the world over are apt to consider themselves superior to the Law which it is the essence of saintliness to transcend. They are naturally more closely akin to the prophets with their disdain of external ritualism. To the psalmist who realizes that sin is inborn and purity an effort of the regenerated will—echo of the prophet-lawgiver (Genesis 8.21; Deuteronomy10.16; Leviticus 26.41)as well as of Jeremiah and Ezekiel—there comes the certainty that the 'sacrifices of God (that is, pleasing to Him) are a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart' (Psalm 51.19). But immediately the corrective follows in conformity with priestly legislation and prayer is made for the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem when 'bullocks will be offered upon the altar' (verses 20 and 21). Psalm 1 defines the saint as a student of the Torah, which is his whole concern, in which he meditates day and night. The entire Psalm 119 is a song of praise of the Torah, to which the saint clings with all his being, loving it,

The Spirit of the Prophets and the Torah Dominates the Psalter

cherishing it fondly, prizing it above gold and silver and all wealth, rejoicing in it as the source of truth, of 'wondrous things' which the illuminated eye may behold.

Koheleth In the Book of Koheleth we meet with descriptions of despotic rulers, corrupt and covetous governors, of officials subject to higher officials—all too general for ascertaining the author's date. The parable of the youth passing his childhood in poverty and prison and then supplanting upon the throne an old and foolish king and receiving the homage of a host of flatterers—the 'worship of the rising Sun'—is again too indefinite to confine the identification to any one example in history. The author is revealed as a well-informed teacher of 'wisdom', who 'pondered, and sought out, and set in order many mashals'. He was much wiser than his commentators; he indulged in paradoxes and assumed the free and easy manner of seeing two sides to a question; he veiled his unorthodoxy by acting as his own interpolator. The fine irony of his conclusion—'fear God, and keep His commandments; for this is all that is left to man'—puts him into a category with the poet-philosopher to whom we are indebted for the book of Job.

The Evidence from Language The strongest point in any attempt at placing Koheleth is the evidence from language. 'If the Book of Koheleth be of old Solomonic origin, then there is

no history of the Hebrew language.' Tradition, however, does not ascend quite that high; it brings the 'writing' down to the age of Hezekiah. Now what do we actually know about the fortunes of the Hebrew language? We are barely able to distinguish two periods: a golden and a silver period. In the latter certain grammatical forms, syntactical constructions, and words, especially particles, approach the state of the language of the Mishna. But, as students of language know, it often takes centuries for a new coinage, at first employed sparingly, to pass into general use. We must not on the basis of one word or turn of speech pronounce upon the date of a writing. The literature is too scanty. Cumulative evidence alone leads to results which may be said to have convincing power. Moreover, subject-matter has always much to do with style. Prayers cannot be composed in the style of legal enactments, and a philosophical treatise must perforce take on diction foreign to both. Koheleth may have been written in the Grecian or in the late Persian period, but conceivably also at an earlier point; the writer would simply have been forced to create the appropriate style when he needed it. He really could not write his book in the language of Isaiah or Deuteronomy.

Daniel There is one book in the third division, Daniel, the date of which we may establish with accuracy by the aid of the historical perspective, which is brought down to the stirring events in which

it was published. It opens up a novel genre of literature of which in the sequel there arose numerous imitations (chapter VI). It is an *apocalyptic* writing, a book of revelations or visions, in which events of the distant future are outlined in all their detail far ahead. The end is neatly calculated in definite terms of years, up to which end the visions are sealed up, to be opened only when the finale of the drama supervenes. Whatever older materials the writer may have used, particularly in the first part of the book, he certainly wrote in full view of the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. Although sympathizing with the martyrs who suffered death, the author of Daniel made it his definite object to discountenance the resort to arms under the leadership of the priest of Modein and his sons in the firm belief that the kingdom of saints was at hand, coming down with the clouds of heaven, with no human effort whatsoever.

The Third Group Distinct in Subject-matter

It is an altogether erroneous supposition that all of the writings comprised within the third division must have been composed after the second or prophetic collection had been closed. The books of the third division rather form a group distinct in subject-matter from the two which precede it in the editions. Its nucleus is made up of the the Books of Wisdom—Wisdom in all its many ramifications. Job and the two Solomonic writings, Proverbs and Koheleth, clearly belong to the 'mashal'

class. But so is also the lyric poetry of the Psalter, the Song of Songs, and Lamentations an emanation of the spirit of wisdom (chapter IV). Moreover, there are 'didactic' psalms which call themselves 'mashals' (Psalms 49 and 78); others (like Psalms 73 and 88) deal with the problem treated in the Book of Job. The Book of Lamentations is lyric poetry of the elegiac kind; the third chapter in addition has points of contact with Job. The Song of Songs is a collection of erotic idylls of the pastoral kind; songs which were wont to be sung at weddings when bridegroom and bride played king and queen. These poems had for their theme the eternal attraction of man and maid, the passion which is 'strong as death, cruel as the grave, whose flashes are a very flame of the Lord,' unquenchable, unextinguishable, the love which no purchase price can buy. The naive simplicity with which things natural are named might shock the rigorist prude (chapter VI); to the mind of the collector of the Scriptures the Song of Songs approved itself, as it did in the sequel when it was read in the synagogue at the vernal season when 'the winter is past and the rain is over and gone', as a 'mashal', a symbol of the divine love for Israel and of the longing with which Israel awaits the day when God will speed the redemption.

The Wisdom Books (including Lyric Poetry) the Nucleus

Daniel likewise a Book of Wisdom

The visionary Daniel, to the mind of the collector, differed from Amos and Ezekiel and Zechariah. He was quite right in his feeling that this man was no prophet. Ezekiel makes reference to the Daniel he knew as a 'wise man' (Ezekiel 28.3); and as such the Daniel of our book is described (1.17,20; 2.21; 5.11), a man in whom is the spirit of God, in whom is found light and understanding and surpassing wisdom (5.14). It is therefore essentially as a book of wisdom that Daniel was put in the third division.

Books connected with the Psalter

The Book of Chronicles was looked upon by the collector as a fitting Preface to the Psalter. It deals like no other book with the organizations of the singer guilds and the institution of Levitical song worship, both of which the Chronicler assigns to David. The present conclusion of Chronicles breaks off in the middle of the third verse of the opening chapter of Ezra. Originally therefore Ezra-Nehemiah was a part of Chronicles; the author carried the history down to the times of Alexander the Great and showed how the Davidic institutions were re-introduced at the time of the restoration. The whole was broken up at a later date, when Chronicles was put at the end of the collection and the Scriptures concluded significantly with the phrase 'let him go up'. With Chronicles the collector joined Esther, which narrates an event of the period with which portions of Ezra deal. With the

Psalter went probably also the little volume of Ruth, for the reason that it concludes with a genealogy of David. For one thing the placing of Ruth in the third group shows an act of deliberation. Had the collector been influenced by considerations relative to the time of its composition—about which he was as little informed as we are to-day—he would have put it higher up among the historical books of the second division, uncritically holding, as does the talmudic tradition, that Samuel, or some such writer near the times with which it deals, was its author.

The Three Shelves

Thus, the appendages to the Psalter notwithstanding, the third division is shown to form a homogeneous group of Wisdom books. That body of writings, now smaller now larger, kept pace with the growth of the other two divisions. It went by the loose term 'Writings', 'other books', books indeed different in subject-matter from Torah and Prophets. The three divisions of Scriptures from the very first beginnings, when priests wrote down on rolls their torahs, and prophets gathered their addresses together 'that they might be for a time to come for ever and ever' (Isaiah 30.8) or had their disciples relate the 'great things' that they had done (II Kings 8.4), and 'wise men' had their words committed to writing (Proverbs 22.17, 20) and their 'mashals' assembled in collections (Ecclesiastes 12.11), until the very end when the whole body of Holy Writ was closed, maintained themselves as co-existing

groups, distinct in subject-matter. They did not, of course,all come to an end simultaneouly, and the third group may have been longest in closing. The important point is that no matter at what cross-section in the literary and religious history of the nation we place ourselves, there was a tripartite body of Scriptures. To speak the language of our modern libraries, each set of writings had its own shelf, each single writing its shelf mark, and as a new book was written and deemed worthy of acceptance, it was entered as an accession and received its place in accordance with its subject-matter or literary character: the books of the Torah by themselves, the books of and about the Prophets by themselves, and the Books of Wisdom by themselves.

CHAPTER VI

THREE, NOT FOUR

Exclusion, rather than inclusion, marked the closing of the collection. The Scriptures were meant to consist of the three parts; there was to be no fourth part. The rabbis render Proverbs 22: 20: 'Have I not written unto thee treble things?' and they add: treble, but not quadruple. By refusing to create a fourth order of a dignity comparable let us say with that of the third, so as to admit whatever writings stood without, the makers of the collection indicated that nothing could be added to it, that it was closed. The rabbis give expression to this thought in a variety of ways over and above the remark just cited. Koheleth closes with the epigram which has passed into a proverb: 'Of making many books there is no end' (12.12). The preceding clause the rabbis make to read in literal rendition: 'And of more than these (that is, the words of the wise that are composed in collections), my son, beware.' By a play upon the Hebrew *mehemmah* (=than these) they deliver themselves of the dictum: 'He who admits to his house more than the twenty-four books (5 of the Torah, 8 of the Prophets, 11 of the Writings), admits confusion (Hebrew *mehumah*).'

Treble Things

'Of more than these, beware'

Books which may or may not be read

Then again upon the basis of the closing sentence: 'and much study is a weariness of the flesh', which after their wont they handle rather freely, they draw the line between writings which may be perused casually, read as one reads a letter, and those which, like the books of the acknowledged Scriptures, are objects of painstaking study. They know of still another class of books which it is forbidden to read at all, even privately. Those are the writings which stand entirely outside, not merely outside the collection of Holy Writ, but even beyond the pale of Judaism, like the literary productions of the Judeo-Christians; any Jew who reads them excommunicates himself, forfeits his share in the world to come.

Defiling the Hands

Both the near-scriptural writings, which one may read though only casually and privately, and the others which may not be read at all are described as 'writings which do not defile the hands', while 'all the Holy Scriptures defile the hands'; that is to say, after handling any of the books in the body of the twenty-four Scriptures one must wash his hands. It is certainly a peculiar injunction, but its strangeness disappears when we remember that the high priest on the Day of Atonement washed his body with water, not only when he put on the holy garments of the day, but also when he put them off. The transition from the holy to the common is marked by an ablution. As the rabbis themselves

explain it, the bones of an unclean animal do not defile through contact with them, but the bones of a high priest do.

'From that time onwards'

The near-scriptural books are further defined as those which, like Ben Sira, 'were written from that time onwards'. A line is apparently drawn somewhere in the age of the 'scribes' when inspiration ceased. Josephus expresses himself similarly when he says that 'from the time of Artaxerxes (the biblical Ahasuerus) to our own days there have been written many historical books covering each period, but they are not deemed to possess the same degree of trustworthiness or authority which inheres in those which preceded them, for the reason that the accurate tradition of the prophets was unavailable'.

Secreting Books

When the rabbis refer to attempts at excluding a scriptural book, removing it from the collection (as in the case of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes for obvious reasons, or of Proverbs on account of the secular, un-prophetic character of the 'mashals', or of a prophetic book like that of Ezekiel because of the contradictions between it and the Pentateuch), the expression employed is: 'they (that is, the authorities) sought to secrete (store away, hide, *ganaz*) this or that book.' In the synagogue chests only the volumes of the Scriptures might be kept; anything that was un-scriptural wandered into the store-room (*Genizah*).

Genizah To understand aright the Genizah and its contents, one must recall the reverence in which not only the Scriptures were had, but anything, a book of prayers for example,in which the divine name occurred. Any loose pages or fragments with Hebrew writing would be gathered up by the beadle and deposited in the store-room, where they might be safe from profanation, but not of course from worms, but then the destruction might go on of itself. An heretical book would be burnt outright. Near-scriptural books, unfit for public reading, were withdrawn by placing them in the Genizah. So it is that in the famous Cairo Genizah, of biblical books (and for that matter of works of the post-biblical literature which in mediæval times were to be found in such synagogues as also served as 'houses of study'), only fragments were found, while of a book like Ben Sira almost two thirds have been recovered; the remaining leaves may have been stolen previously, or, which is more probable, had succumbed to destruction. Accordingly, storing away was a method of withdrawing a writing from circulation and especially from public reading; by this act it was indicated that it was apocryphal, just as keeping it in public view, like the Scroll in the ark, made a volume canonical.

The terms 'Canon' and 'Apocrypha' The term Canon is Christian, the word Semitic(*caneh* in Hebrew means a measuring-rod; hence measure, standard), the thing itself, as we have seen,

Jewish. So does the term 'apocryphal', literally 'hidden', which is employed in the Church, express the Jewish notions just outlined. To the Church 'canonical' means 'inspired', at once corresponding to and containing the rule of faith; it is designated as 'open', 'public', while the counterpart 'apocryphal' is spoken of as 'private', and apocryphal literature signifies books which may be perused for private edification. And the Church distinguishes another body of writings which are condemned as heretical; there is spurious Scripture which affects the diction and style of the authentic, but the former is as different from the latter as the counterfeit from the real and true.

Attempts at excluding Books already in the Canon

Reference was made above to an attempt to throw out certain books of the Canon, particularly the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, to transfer them from the body of publicly read Scriptures to the outside, to assign to them at best near-scriptural rank which would thus place them on a level with Ben Sira and make of them books fit for private reading only. According to tradition, the two houses or schools of Shammai and Hillel were divided in their opinion. At the time of Akiba, who regarded it as unthinkable that the dispute should have turned upon the Song which, he declared, was the most holy book in the third division, the rabbis were not quite certain as to which of the two books was contested. But whether the one or the other or

both, the teachers, with a view to the form in which the notion of 'apocryphal' was expressed in the schools (see above), credited the Shammaites with a lenient attitude and the Hillelites with the stricter one, which is the reverse of the usual procedure. But, as a matter of fact, if 'defiling the hands' and the opposite are translated into 'canonical' and 'apocryphal', the school of Shammai which held that Ecclesiastes 'does not defile the hands' was true to its general rigorism, and the retention—not, of course, the inclusion; that had happened—of Koheleth in the collection of Holy Writ we owe to the followers of the mild Hillel.

Defining what is not Scripture

That brings us down to the years immediately preceding and following the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70 of the common era. It was then that Pharisaism made ready to take over the sole leadership of the nation. The war with Rome had strengthened the 'separatist' tendencies still further; the dangers from the nascent sect out of which the Church emerged were becoming acute. A stricter view was taken of the Canon, and though, thanks to the spirit of Hillel still alive in his disciples, it was left as it had been for over two centuries, that body of near-scriptural writings which had hovered on the borderland and which might have constituted a fourth division, was resolutely pushed aside and put without. The dispute about one or the other book of the Canon arose because just then the teachers were busy defining

what is not Scripture, and while on the subject of excluding Ben Sira and the other 'apocryphal' writings an attempt could be made to extend the exclusion to a 'canonical' book. The book of Job seems likewise to have been scrutinized; for 'in that day' the question was discussed whether Job served God from motives of love or from motives of fear. The concise formulation of the dictum 'Ben Sira and all the books written from that time onward do not defile the hands' gives it the appearance of an official resolution such as was carried, we are told, at the memorable session at Jabneh about 90 of the common era, when Gamaliel was deposed and Eleazar ben Azariah made head of the school.

Fate of the Excluded Writings

The excluded writings, however, continued to be read privately; citations from Ben Sira abound in the talmudic-midrashic literature, and when the teachers forget themselves they include the apocryphal book among the 'Writings'; copies of it were still current in the tenth century and those that have been recovered from the Genizah are found to have marginal directions to the reader, that is, the public reader, to 'read so and so', exactly as is the case with the canonical Scriptures. In later, and possibly still earlier, times several apocryphal writings, like Wisdom of Solomon and Susanna, were transcribed from the Syriac and read with avidity by Jewish scholars. Even the heretical books continued to be read until the times of

Akiba,when in the Hadrianic war the Judeo-Christian sect which stood aloof in the national uprising was definitively thrust out and their literature, by which many a teacher was fascinated, condemned, exactly as were their cures in the name of the Nazarene.

Pharisaism Triumphant

The closing of the Canon by the excluding act which segregated the Apocrypha was the work of Pharisaism triumphant. The one book in the Canon which was after the heart of the Pharisee was Daniel; there the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, which constituted one of the points on which Pharisees and Sadducees divided, was enunciated. Indeed the whole spirit of the book with its opposition to all human effort to bring about liberation from the foreign yoke and its insistence on the miraculous nature of redemption squared with the tenor of Phraisaism. It was the first manifesto of the nascent party whose rise to power was gradual, coming after repeated struggles with their opponents in which they were often worsted. It shows how the canonical character of a book like Koheleth had been long established, for its Sadducee leanings are quite clear, if one may speak of Sadduceeism before there was a Sadducee party. The Pharisees were the spiritual descendants of the scribes and priest-prophets; the Canon as an inheritance from the past was in the main an accomplished fact; as they broke with the Hasmonean dynasty, they put the finishing touches to the collection by narrowing down the com-

pass of the third division so as to exclude writings which failed to come up to their standard.

The Compass of the Scriptures in Alexandria

In Alexandria, the translation of the Scriptures in Greek, begun with the Torah, had grown apace, and by the time that Ben Sira was done into Greek, about 130 before the common era, the Law and the Prophets and the other Writings were read in that language. Other books not admitted into the Canon, were likewise translated. In the manuscripts of the Greek translation, the very oldest of which were copied by Christians for Christian use, the apocryphal books are intermixed with the canonical. This body of writings was taken over by the Church from the Alexandrian Jews, but it may be doubted whether the combination of the two classes in one collection goes back to Jewish antecedents. In Palestine the excluded writings, left to private care, slowly but surely disappeared, and works which in the fourth century of the common era were still to be read in their original Hebrew or Aramaic vanished to leave no trace behind, thus accomplishing the intent of the act of 90. What knowledge we have of the Apocrypha we owe to the Christian Church which cherished them. '"He (Judah the Maccabee) angered many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever." But Jacob would have forgotten him, had not the books of the Maccabees been preserved by the Church.'

The Canon of the Catholic Church The Council of the Trent (1546) accepted as canonical all the books contained in the Latin version known as Vulgate, that is, in addition to the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Scriptures also Tobit and Judith (between Nehemiah and Esther), the additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira; after the Song of Songs), Baruch including the Epistle of Jeremiah (after Lamentations appended to Jeremiah), Susanna and Bel and the Dragon (as an appendix to Daniel; in chapter 3 the Song of the Three Holy Children—Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah—is inserted), I and II Maccabees (at the close of the Prophets). The Anglican Church retained these books (together with III and IV Ezra and the Prayer of Manasseh) as useful in the Church 'for example of life and instruction of manner', but they are relegated to an appendix or to a separate volume as near-Scripture.

Uncanonical Books On the other hand, the Catholic Church excludes from its canon (of Old Testament Scriptures) a number of writings extant in Greek or in translations from the Greek, such as III Ezra (a fragmentary translation of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, according to certain scholars older than the canonical translation of these books in which Ezra figures as I Ezra and Nehemiah as II Ezra), III Maccabees (which relates the persecution of the Jews in Egypt under Ptolemy IV), IV Maccabees (a philosophical treatise illustrating the power of

reason to control the passions by the example of the martyrdom of Eleazar and of the seven Maccabean brothers), The Book of Jubilees (an exposition of Genesis and the first twelve chapters of Exodus with the years counted in cycles of fifty years each), The Apocalypse (Revelation) of Baruch of which the Epistle of Baruch to the Ten Tribes is a separate excerpt (containing revelations alleged to have been received by Jeremiah's disciple and companion before and after the destruction of Jerusalem), Psalm 151 (the supernumerary psalm appended to the Greek translation), The Psalter of Solomon (18 psalms deploring the fate of the Jews during the Roman occupation of Jerusalem by Pompey and enunciating the hope in the advent of the Messiah), The Prayer of Manasseh (with reference to II Chronicles 33. 12, 18), IV Ezra (visions and prophecies of Ezra concerning the advent of the Messiah, the day of judgment, and the destruction of the Roman empire), The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, The Assumption of Moses (treats of events under the Hasmoneans and Herod), The Ascension of Isaiah (martyrdom of the prophet), The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Testament of Job, The Sibylline Oracles (put in the mouth of the heathen 'Sibyl'), the Epistle of Aristeas (an exaltation of the Jewish Law incident to the narrative concerning the origin of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch), and others. Within recent years discovery has been made of the Odes of Solomon and (in the Hebrew

original recovered from the Cairo Genizah) of a sectarian work published by Dr. Schechter, in which the Book of Jubilees and the Testament of Levi are referred to or cited and the doctrine developed of a Messiah from the seed of Aaron.

Character of the Books outside the Hebrew Scriptures

It is quite possible that some of these writings, though not all, were composed originally in Hebrew or Aramaic; the present condition of the texts shows handling by Christians; and in some cases it becomes difficult to establish whether the author was a Jew or a Christian. This much is clear that 'many books without end' existed by the side of the collection of Scriptures recognized by the Pharisees. Their range was a wide one, comprising history, philosophy, poetry, lyric and didactic, but above all apocalypse, that new genre which is represented in the Canon by Daniel. It is evident that the Pharisaic teachers knew them all as modern productions. It is true, Ben Sira antedated Daniel; but the sage was unwise enough to publish his work under his own name. It is a lofty book throughout; it is like Proverbs, Koheleth, and the Psalter all rolled up into one; but his indifference to individual immortality—'The life of man is numbered by days; but the days of Israel are innumerable' (37. 25) — pardoned in Koheleth who impersonated a son of David, made him unacceptable to the Pharisees; nor could they tolerate his assumption of the prophetic

gift (24.33) despite his 'orthodoxy' in identifying Wisdom with the Torah of Moses (verse 25).

The Line Drawn

Pharisaism had its birth in the break with the Hasmonean dynasty, and a writing glorifying that dynasty was evidently the work of their opponents which was sufficient to condemn it. Daniel suited Pharisaism as no other book might; moreover it dealt with later history in the form of ancient visions. The line appears to have been drawn between Ezra and the Maccabean revolt: classicity lay behind that line.

As for the writings ascribed to so many ancient worthies, Adam, Enoch, Moses, Ezra—the so-called

Pseudepigrapha

Pseudepigrapha (writings with fictitious titles)—which were all late products, the contents and the spirit of most of them was recognized to be moving farther and farther away from the lines of official Judaism. Moreover, these writings lost themselves in thoughts which ultimately led those who cherished them out of Judaism into the rising Church. At Jabneh, in the year 90 of the common era, the fate of Ben Sira and a few other books might hang in the balance; as for the bulk of that literature, a substantial part of which was composed in Greek and was therefore unknown in Palestine, while many of these books had their origin in sects and points of view diametrically at variance with the Pharisaic, they were 'extraneous writings' which condemned themselves by their character, though many

The Decision against a Fourth Division

of the teachers were enmeshed in their toils, until at length Akiba spoke the word which cast that entire body of literature beyond the pale of Judaism. Of forming a fifth part of Scriputres with the inclusion of the many 'Revelations' and 'Secrets' and 'Assumptions' and 'Ascensions' there never was any thought. The Pharisaic teachers may have thought of making of Ben Sira and a few others a fourth part, an appendix so to speak; they hesitated just for a moment; but the decision was quickly reached: Three, not Four.

CHAPTER VII

THE HIGHER UNITY OF THE TORAH

Ezra's Part in the Torah

It is quite possible that the compiler of the Book of Kings, if we may modify somewhat Spinoza's conjecture (chapter III), attached his work to the earlier historical books, including the Five Books of Moses. Thus the great historical work, brought down to the period of the exile, would have contained a complete and consecutive narrative of the fortunes of the nation from its very beginnings. What was the guiding principle in the construction of the whole is quite clear. It was not to be a history in the strict sense of the word. The last compiler as well as his predecessors had access to historical sources, annals of the kings, contemporary narratives or such as were not far removed from the times dealt with, tales based on oral traditions, poems, and the like. But the rich material was handled in a free and sovereign manner; it was excerpted only so far as suited the purpose of the compilers, which was merely to provide the framework for the things that really mattered from their point of view. A writer who devotes just seven verses (II Kings 14. 23—29) to the forty-one years of the reign of Jeroboam II, disposes in half a verse of his achievements as a restorer of the Israelitish territory

to its Davidic extent, in another verse refers the reader to the annals of the kings of Israel for the details and for the rest of the king's mighty deeds in warfare, and fills up the remainder with reflections and chronological notices, finding an opportunity for introducing a contemporary prophet, is not an historian. If we bear in mind that six chapters (I Kings 17—19, 21; II Kings 1, 2) are given to the prophet Elijah, at least eight chapters (II Kings 2—9) to the prophet Elisha, an entire chapter (I Kings 13) to an anonymous prophet, we shall not err in saying that his chief concern is with the prophets. The entire work from Genesis to the end is intended to illustrate the guidance of the nation by prophets and inspired leaders. The name applied to the first half of the second division, 'Former Prophets' (chapter I), is indeed an apt appellation; and the first division might be included therein as the biography of the first prophet. If Ezra had at all any part in the making of the Torah, it simply amounted to this: he detached the five books at the head from the sequel. By this act the Torah was placed on that pedestal of eminence which it has occupied ever since.

The Samaritans

That Ezra's Torah contained the whole Pentateuch ought to be beyond debate. Nor can it be maintaned that it was a recent literary production. Had Ezra and his associates been those who put the finishing hand to it, the Samaritans, whose secession dates from the time of Nehemiah (not

a century later, as Josephus would have it), would never have received it; it is indeed their only Scripture. There is a trace in their literature that they once possessed Joshua. If the other books were never in their possession, as seems to be the case, it does not prove that no other collection was then in existence. The other books were to them Judaic and contained aspersions on the Northern Kingdom whose successors they believed themselves to be. The Judeans were willing to acknowledge the rebukes of the prophets who had not spared them; the prophetic threats had certainly been fulfilled. The prophets, even those of Judah, had included Israel alike with Judah in their promises of the future; they were pan-Israelites. But the Samaritans adhered to their narrower provincial and sectarian attitude. It is significant that the Torah by a slight alteration (Deuteronomy 27.4; the Samaritans substitute 'Gerizim' for 'Ebal') could be made acceptable to the seceders. In other words, even if one should grant that the Torah was a Judaic product —in all likelihood such was not the case — its injunctions are couched in terms so general as to place it above the two contending parties.

The Book Found in the Temple

The Book found and promulgated in the reign of Josiah is identified even by Graetz (chapter III) with Deuteronomy. But it need not have been any other than the same Torah which Ezra placed before the people for their ratification. The Book was really

found; it had actually been lost. In the narrative of the twenty-second chapter of II Kings, the find is brought into connection with the restoration of the Temple edifice. The writer clearly conveys the impression that the discovery was made during the progress of the repairs, when much rubbish was removed and ancient layers were uncovered; in other words, that the book was found secreted not in an open place in one of the chambers, but in some spot in the Temple walls. A most plausible explanation, a slight improvement upon the traditional one (chapter II), would be that Manasseh had the Temple copy consigned to its stone entombment on the occasion of alterations in the edifice. We possess a parallel in the case of Gamaliel the Elder. Shortly before the destruction of the Herodian Temple (which was far from completed when the soldiers of Titus set fire to it), he is said to have immured beneath a layer a copy of a translation of the Book of Job. In either instance the obvious aim was to withdraw the offensive volume from public use. Both Gamaliel and Manasseh shrank from off-hand destruction; the book might be left to destroy itself. But by the act of sequestration each plainly indicated the disfavor in which he held it, Gamaliel because he discountenanced written translations, Manasseh for the reason that he had set aside the Torah in the form presented by the Temple copy. It was an early case of *genizah* (chapter VI), tantamount to rejecting the Code and declaring it ineffective in the realm.

Hezekiah's Religious Policy Overturned by Manasseh

Manasseh plainly overturned the religious policy of Hezekiah. Of the few pious kings of Judah three are singled out as perfect: David, Hezekiah, and Josiah (Sirach 49.4). Hezekiah is said to have removed the high places and to have broken down the sacred pillars and posts (II Kings 18.4). The reformation proved abortive and Josiah was compelled to re-introduce these measures on even a vaster scale, because in the interim Manasseh and Amon had restored the conditions which had prevailed before Hezekiah, and probably with much exaggeration. The Anglican Reformation of the sixteenth century offers an analogy. The short reign of Mary the Catholic was sufficient to undo the reforming steps taken by her predecessors, and when Elizabeth ascended the throne these had to be largely retraced. The interval of time between Hezekiah and Josiah was a much longer one—more than half a century. In England the Scriptures in the vernacular marked the progress of the reformation, and during Mary's reign the public use of them in the churches was forbidden. In Palestine, in those far-off days, it was the Torah of Moses in the form of the Book found by the priest Hilkiah that had its turns. Manasseh had repudiated it and well-nigh succeeded in destroying it. Josiah, in restoring it as the law of the realm, put the crown of achievement upon the undertaking of Hezekiah.

Josiah's Torah It is not altogether true that the abuses which these kings removed are dealt with exclusively in Deuteronomy. Thus the putting down of the worship of Baal and other gods, including sun, moon, and heavenly constellations,squares with the Second Commandment (Exodus 20.3; compare also 34.14); the pillars which were broken down are proscribed in Leviticus 26.1; the 'sodomites' are alluded to in the same book (18. 22), similarly the Molech worship by causing children to pass through the fire (20.2–5) and divining by a ghost or familiar spirit (19.31; 20.6, 27); the word *gillulim* for 'idols' occurs in Leviticus 26.30. Certainly the celebration of the Passover is enjoined in all the codes of the Torah.

The Law of the Single Sanctuary The law of the single Sanctuary, to be sure, is characteristic of the Code of Deuteronomy. In chapter 12 the people are commanded to destroy all the(sacred)places of the Canaanites together with their altars, pillars, poles,and images; they are not to have a plurality of sanctuaries for the worship of the Lord (high places; the word so frequent in the historical books is nevertheless avoided, though Leviticus 26.30 has it), but one central place where alone sacrifices may be offered. This law is to become effective after the period of the conquest, when the land shall have been pacified and distributed. Provision is made for the killing of cattle for ordinary, not sacrificial, purposes anywhere in the

land, the meat to be consumed by the unclean and the clean; only the blood must be poured out upon the ground. The lawgiver clearly repeals the Law of Leviticus 17 which was designed solely for the conditions of camp life, when all animals might be brought to the Tabernacle and offered as peace-offerings. Naturally this mode of procedure would be unworkable in the settled conditions of life across the Jordan. It seems also that in the plains of Moab, when the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh had occupied the rich cattle lands of Jazer and Gilead east of the Jordan, there developed great laxity, every man doing 'whatsoever was right in his own eyes'. It was therefore perfectly possible that the Torah of Josiah contained beside Deuteronomy other books of the Pentateuch; in fact the Deuteronomic law is unintelligible without that in Leviticus 17, and this chapter is linked to the whole of Leviticus and to those parts of Exodus and Numbers in which the Tabernacle is mentioned. If the Book found in the Temple had Deuteronomy in it, it must also have had the three preceding books, including the very portions which are assigned by the modern school to the Priests' Code.

But the law of Deuteronomy 12 cannot very well be brought into consonance with Exodus 20.21, which is the introduction to the Book of the Covenant containing the 'Words' and 'Ordinances' of chapters 21, 22, 23 (see 24. 3–8). 'An

Exodus 20.21

altar of earth (the succeeding verse allows the choice of unhewn stones as material for the construction of the altar) thou shalt make unto Me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen; in every place where I cause My name to be mentioned I will come to thee and bless thee.' The blessing follows the sacrifice as a sign that it has been accepted, and is invoked by the priests ('so shall they put My name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them', Numbers 6.27).

Contrasted with Deuteronomy 12. 13

Contrast Deuteronomy 12. 13, 'Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest; but in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt-offerings.' These words are taken to be a pointed protest against the law of Exodus. In a manner they ignore the qualification in the other law. It is not every place that a man may see fit to consecrate, but only such places as have been hallowed through a manifestation of the Deity whereby He causes His name to be mentioned, like Bethel where God appeared unto the patriarch Jacob when he fled from Esau (Genesis 35.1; 28.13), Penuel where Jacob wrestled with an angel and saw God face to face (32.25–32), Gilgal where the Lord announced to Joshua that He had rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off Israel (Joshua 5.9), and so on.

Both may have been in Josiah's Torah

Now, it is maintained that these two contradictory laws could not have been found in the Book of Josiah. As a matter of fact they co-exist quite peaceably in our Pentateuch. The so-called compiler found no difficulty in reconciling them. He and the generations that followed him took note of the fact that the law in Exodus does not speak of altars in the plural, but of an altar in the singular, which may be erected now in this place now in that, now in Shiloh now in Jerusalem, not at one and the same time, but successively. That was certainly the understanding of Jeremiah (7.12), who names Shiloh as the place where the Lord caused His name to dwell 'at the first', of Asaph who sees in the destruction of Shiloh in the Philistine wars an act of the provoked Deity, who 'forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent which He had made to dwell among men; He abhorred the tent of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim; but chose the tribe of Judah, the mount Zion which He loved; and He built His sanctuary like the heights, like the earth which He hath founded for ever; He chose David also His servant, to be shepherd over Jacob His people, and Israel His inheritance' (Psalm 78.60, 67–71). Thus both Shiloh, where Hannah poured out her soul and dedicated her son Samuel to the ministry of the Lord, whither men went up to worship and to sacrifice from year to year, and Jerusalem, which David conquered from the Jebusite

and made the capital of Israel and Judah united, were, each in its time, acknowledged as lawful sanctuaries. The Torah of a set purpose is general in its phraseology, and the law of Deuteronomy as well as that of Exodus might be cited at Shiloh by Eli or at Jerusalem by Zadok or Hezekiah. It was reserved for the Samaritans to re-write the passage in Exodus so as to read: 'In *the* place where I *have caused* My name to be mentioned'.

They must have been there

But we will grant that the two Codes disagree. We contend, however, that had the Book of Josiah been confined to the Deuteronomic Code alone, as is generally maintained, it would have met with instant opposition of a nature to preclude acceptance. The priests of the country sanctuaries might have pointed to the Exodus legislation. It was obviously imperative to mark the rival code as repealed. This could be accomplished only by having the two codes in one and the same book. Both were allowed to stand as Mosaic; only the Exodus Code was dated from the beginning of the wanderings, it was given at Sinai (Horeb), while the Deuteronomic Code was the final legislation set forth in the plains of Moab (see Deuteronomy 28. 69). Where they differed, the Second Law was manifestly in force. A body of narrative became necessary to indicate that there was a sequence in time. Hence the two Codes must have been encased in a framework

of history, which, of course, means that Josiah's Book resembled our Pentateuch.

Both Codes Co-existed

We shall go even farther. It is universally recognized that Deuteronomy 12.13 points a finger, so to speak, at Exodus 20.24. Now Wellhausen has remarked that the latter passage 'looks almost like a protest against the equipment of the Temple of Solomon.' His opponent Hoffmann concedes the possibility that after the secession under Jeroboam I, when in the North the Jerusalem Temple ceased to be considered as the central sanctuary, plural sanctuaries or altars were regarded as lawful. It may therefore be argued as plausible that the Exodus passage is a pointed protest against Deuteronomy 12.13. Not because it knows no better, because that was the undisputed wont, does the Exodus law pronounce for plural sanctuaries; rather, because it is well aware of the contending doctrine of the single sanctuary, does it set itself deliberately against it. Neither the opposition to plural sanctuaries nor the advocacy of them was something sprung upon the nation of a sudden; each had its history, its starting-point and culmination. When Jeremiah, with Deuteronomy before him, in a mood of despair, points out the futility of the 'pen of the scribes' (8.8; see 3.10), he is confronting a contesting opinion which just as ardently emphasizes its utility; or when he gives utterance to the thought that the Mosaic legislation did not concern itself with the sacrificial

cult (7.22), he is opposed by teachers who, on the contrary, maintain that it was an intergal part of the ancient law. Similarly, the Exodus Code and the Deuteronomic Law must be understood as rivals facing each other and disputing each the authority of the other.

Hosea 8.12

The Torah of Josiah most probably had them both, just as we have them to-day. But at some period in the background they must have existed by the side of each other as indepedent versions of the Mosaic Torah. From Joshua 24.26 and I Samuel 10.25 we know that the ancient shrines had their archives. In each there must have been a copy of the Torah, here shorter and there longer, alike in subject-matter, but with differences in detail according to the attitude of the local priesthood. 'Though I write for him', Hosea makes the Lord say (8.12), 'never so many Torahs (this is probably the sense of the passage), they are accounted as a stranger's', as those of one no one will in any wise heed. Hosea confronts a people steeped in sin, 'swearing and lying, and killing and stealing, and committing adultery', breaking all the commandments, as we should say, yet scrupulous in presenting their sin-offerings at the behest of their priests. There are altars enough in the land, there is no dearth of sumptuous sanctuaries; but 'Ephraim hath multiplied altars—to sin.'

Hosea's Torah

Humanity has not changed much since those days: with punctiliousness

in outward, ritual observances there may be found acquiescence in all the wrongs of the social order and a deadened conscience in regard to the things that really matter, 'truth, and mercy, and knowledge of God.' Hosea, like Jeremiah, recognizes the futility of a written Law which has not sunk into the heart. He inveighs against the exaggerated value put upon 'Temple piety.' But it is preposterous to maintain that the written Torah or torahs, to which the prophet refers as existing, contained nothing but moral duties. The Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, in which the absence of all concern for sacrificial worship and the like stands out in marked contrast to the rest of the Torah, the modern school would have us believe, dates from a period later than Hosea's; the Deuteronomic Code, in which ritual prescriptions are certainly not wanting, was a compromise between prophets and priests; yet Hosea had behind him a written Torah with just the moral commandments in it which so singularly characterize the 'later' Decalogue! No, we say, Hosea's Torah could not have been different in scope and contents and origin from the Codes now imbedded in the Pentateuch.

The Codes Half-moral Half-ritual

For it is neither all ritual nor all morality that meets us in any of them. Quite in consonance with the three strands of the spiritual life of the nation, both in their concurrency and in their interlacing (chapter IV), no part entering into the make-up of the

Torah, however priestly in origin, could escape the influences from the other two spheres acting as a check self-imposed. Both the Exodus Code and the Deuteronomic were intended for the people at large, men, women, and children. 'These are the ordinances which thou shalt set before them' (Exodus 21.1). The 'words' and the 'ordinances' are told to the people, and they with one voice signify their acceptance. Then the Book of the Covenant is written and read to the people, and the people once more declare their acceptance (24.3–7). The Deuteronomic Code is a farewell oration addressed to the people, it is the 'Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel' (Deuteronomy 4.44). The chief concern of both is to deal with matters that relate to the people directly, the body of civil and criminal law ('ordinances') and moral injunctions ('words'). Altars, sacrifices, dues to the sanctuaries or the priesthood are merely touched upon casually. But these things are there, while detailed instructions concerning them are reserved for those whom they concern. The Deuteronomic Code treats of these matters even somewhat more fully than the parallel Code, for the reason that the lawgiver must needs show the bearing upon them of the institution of the single sanctuary. Thus the disposal of tithes and firstlings and first fruits is considered (Deuteronomy 14. 22—15.23), exactly as in connection with the centralized sanctuary the cycle of the pilgrimage festivals (16.1—17), the supreme court of appeals (17.8—13),

the cities of refuge (19.1—13) are dealt with. But in regard to leprosy, a cross-reference, so to speak, to the Priests' Torah is indulged in (24.8), and in chapter 14 the *torah* concerning the animals that may and may not be eaten is excerpted from Leviticus 11, where, however, a much fuller treatment is accorded the subject.

No Hostility to Ritual

The important point is that ritual matters are not ignored. What is still more important is that no hostile attitude is taken to them, as some of the uncompromising prophets might expect the lawgiver to adopt. For he is priest-prophet. He believes in the whole of the religious life,in an organized piety which leaves nothing undone: the Temple and the sacrificial worship are there and they require to be regulated, that in no wise may idolatry creep in; but so is also a civic life governed by 'righteous ordinances' and the deeper humanity which rests not upon law courts and institutions but upon those eternal Shalts and Shalt-nots which none but God can dictate.

The Priests' Code Contains the Moralities

And the Priests' Code, which is for 'Aaron and his sons', for the priesthood, circumstantially dealing as it must with all that they are charged to do, with all their punctilious duties in and about the sanctuary, is just as strongly permeated with what we may call the moralities. The two highest commandments, the love of God and the love of one's

neighbor, are distributed among the two codes of the Torah, the Deuteronomic and the Levitical (Deuteronomy 6.5; Leviticus 19.18). The nineteenth chapter of Leviticus is a fair specimen of what the Torah has been from its very beginnings and what it has meant to the religion which is founded upon it. It refuses to distinguish between ritual and moral. Honoring father and mother and keeping the sabbaths, putting away idols and images and refraining from eating sacred meat on the third day after the victim has been offered, charitable dealings with the poor and respect for the property and feelings of great and small, the statutes concerning diverse seeds or intercourse with a bondmaid designated for another man, treating the fruits of a newly planted tree as forbidden during the first three years, injunctions against the practice of divination or rounding the corners of head and beard or making incisions in the body; the prohibition of harlotry, the discountenancing of familiar spirits; the commands to honor the aged and to love the stranger; the insistence on just measures — all these things are there with no attempt at classification. Side by side with the chapters dealing with the regulations of the priesthood and their physical qualifications or with the cycle of holy seasons, and close upon the ruling of how a person cursing the Name shall be punished, we have in the twenty-fifth chapter of this 'priestly' book the agrarian laws and the institution of the year of the jubilee, when 'liberty shall be proclaimed throughout

the land unto all the inhabitants thereof,' that which has been called 'utopian', and which therefore was not some customary law inherited, but the outflow of a great legislative mind wishing to create an 'ideal republic'.

The Torah of Moses

The Torah of which Hosea knew could not but have been likewise half-ritual, half-moral, half-legalistic and half-idealistic. And that Torah was God's, written by Him. Which of course is the meaning of the designation of the Torah as Mosaic. This is indeed the point upon which the narrative framework both in Exodus and in Deuteronomy is quite unanimous and which therefore must rest on a common tradition such as was universally accepted in most ancient times. We may put it in the following fashion. Men were wont to speak of God's Law given to or by the hand of Moses. How came it to be given to Moses and not to the people direct? And the uniform answer was: After the deliverance from Egypt, the Lord summoned the people to His desert mount; there He revealed Himself to them; there in the presence of the whole concourse He addressed Moses, so that the people learned to believe in him as the true prophet, that is, spokesman of the Deity; there they heard the Voice piercing the darkness and thundering forth the Ten Commandments, the groundwork of the Law (according the rabbis, only the first two Commandments were heard by the people); but awed by the manifestation of the Divine Glory,

they withdrew and delegated Moses to ascend the mount and receive for their instruction the whole of the Torah and the Commandments which God had with Him in writing (Exodus 19.9,19; 20.18–21; 24.12; Deuteronomy 5.19–28).

What it was like We have no reason to discredit this tradition. There was a Mosaic Torah which was code and constitution, with regulations for national and individual conduct, with instructions to the priests concerning their duties, all encased in a framework narrating the events when the whole or portions thereof 'came down' and a prefatory history of the patriarchs who were the first teachers of the 'way of the Lord'. Copies of that Torah were executed and kept in all the shrines, each a version or excerpt as conditions of time and place warranted, with such variations as all texts are subject to in the course of transmission and with other modifications intended to keep pace with the development of the national life. Pluralists and advocates of the single sanctuary alike made their contributions; both believed that they were acting in the spirit of Moses and both might cite tradition in support of their contention. It is quite possible that the lawgiver at one time conceded plurality of sanctuaries and at another counseled the establishment of the single sanctuary. His single thought was to safeguard the worship of the One God, the God of the fathers. He may have felt, and the pluralists with him, that the struggle with the Canaanitic culture and

religion necessitated the transformation of every indigenous shrine into a sanctuary of the Lord. Thus, the lawgiver reasoned, the idolatrous equipment and mode of worship which, as the sequel only too well proved, had a fascinaton for Israel, might be uprooted. Or again he foresaw the futility of this measure and made provision for centralizing the worship in one place so soon as that was feasible. He certainly thought that the transition period would be a short one, when complete pacification would ensue. But when the time came under David and political centralization seemed to pave the way for religious unity, when the Temple had been erected on the site of a Jebusite threshing-floor, the North seceded and in defiance of Jerusalem pursued its policy of decentralization,and even in Judah the time was not quite ripe for the execution of the last will of Moses until well-nigh the end.

'Special Dispensation'

The great zealot-prophet Elijah, according to the scriptural account, betook himself to the mountain of God, the place of the primeval revelation, and there poured out his soul before the Lord, grieving over the destruction of the 'altars' of the Lord in the time of Ahab and Jezebel. He met the prophets of Baal on mount Carmel and there restored the altar of the Lord which had been broken down. According to the rabbis, he acted by virtue of a 'special dispensation.' We need not take that literally. In the sense in which the rabbis understood it, it means merely an attempt at

harmonizing the prophet's conduct with the Deuteronomic law which forbids altars beside the one in Jerusalem. But it is supremely true if we take it in a higher sense. It was a time of 'halting between two opinions'. The popular religion was an intermixture of Canaanism and Mosaism. It was not a question of merely purifying the sanctuaries of the Lord, of putting down this or that idolatorus service. The question at issue was: the Lord or Baal. Baalism threatened to submerge the very name of the Lord. And the prophet rightly placed himself upon the position of the North, the attitude of those who, while true to the Lord, could not entertain the notion of centralization which at that time would simply have meant leaving the Lord in possession of the central altar and suffering all the others to remain in the hands of Baal and all that Baal worship connoted. Indeed, it was a 'special dispensation', justified in the circumstances of the period and the situation in which the adherents of Mosaism found themselves in the North,with Phoenicia as next-door neighbor and a Phoenician princess the consort of the king of Israel.

Differences Overemphasized

The Codes or narratives of the Pentateuch may present differences which the Torah of Moses must have assumed in the course of its application to the historical situations. These differences were not discovered yesterday. For ages the students of the Torah have been kept busy explaining them. There is not a

difficulty or incongruity, which modern students trace to the manner in which independent 'documents' were welded together, that is not noticed by the Jewish commentators of medieval times. They meet these difficulties in their way, which may or may not be ours. For one thing it must be borne in mind that there is a proneness to overemphasize the disagreements. These naturally attract attention first of all.

The Analogy of the 'Lower' Criticism

Scholars who have occasion to compare manuscripts of an ancient book are first struck by their differences, which are called variants, and that manuscript which is richest in such variants is studied in preference to others. Yet a closer examination will bring to light the fact that the most of them represent idiosyncracies of certain scribes, and that so soon as we understand their rationale—some are quite irrational—or succeed in 'explaining' them, they cease to be variations. This business is called textual, or 'the lower', criticism. But a textual critic of the right sort is not astonished at all when different copies of one and the same text yield different readings. That is the inevitable fate of any text circulating in a number of copies and again and again multiplied by transcription. The writing hand was not like the setter of movable type. The printing-press stereotypes a compositor's error; it is the same in all the thousands of copies struck off. The writing hand obviously is led into all sorts of by-ways. The astonishing thing is

that manuscripts, which have hundreds of variants, should at all agree in the main, and agree they must or we should not call them copies of the same book. 'The real text', says the critic Bentley, 'does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any manuscript or edition, but is dispersed in them all.'

Applied to the 'Higher'

We may well carry this wise principle over from the domain of the 'lower' to that of the 'higher' criticism, which deals with the manner in which a 'compiler' brought together originally independent, but parallel works. If these were different, why should they not show disagreements? The astonishing thing is that they may still be called 'parallel', that they agree at all. If the two creation stories at the opening of Genesis were independent accounts, they cannot help diverging in the sequence of the acts of creation or in other details. But the striking point is that they both teach that God is Creator and man a creature of God, that both start with the same premisses of a primeval slimy watery mass, both deal with the relation between animals and man, both accord to man in the first world period the fruit of trees, and not meat as food. It is an exaggerated position held by some moderns that certain patriarchal stories in Genesis are based upon the notion that the Israelites never went down to Egypt. What these narratives mean to bring out is the title to the land, which the fathers traversed and took possession of long before the children migra-

ted into it. Not only in the Pentateuch, but all through the Scriptures the exodus from Egypt is a basic event with which the whole of the beginnings of the national life is brought into connection. And so it is with the Codes. Modifications, differences may be noted; but when all of these have been taken into account, there is a residue common to one Code with the other, and the agreement covers not only essentials, but extends to the very language. The presumption is therefore forced upon us that we are dealing with a body of law and tradition antedating the divergences of the disparate versions and ascending to the Mosaic age. Whether the Pentateuch as we have it *is* the Mosaic Torah may be a matter for debate. That it *has* the Mosaic Torah, which is neither in this strand nor in the other but 'dispersed in them all', must be the conclusion of sound criticism.

The Higher Unity of the Torah

The Torah may be a composite work. It lacks unity of the mechanical sort. It has unity, nevertheless, and that in a much higher sense. We have observed how it keeps itself above the contending parties. It takes sides neither with Judah nor with Joseph. North and South might own it, pluralists and the proponents of centralization, ritualists and moralists, Ezra and Sanballat. The Torah when viewed as a whole transmits to the last generation the piety of the patriarchs and even of the righteous that preceded them; whatsoever of faith and fear of God there was

in the world before the Mosaic epoch is treasured up for a memorial and for imitation. It sums up all the movements in the religious life of the nation, imposing a lasting peace upon them all. No extreme views are permitted to prevail; with the iconoclasm of the one-sided moralist it fuses the conservatism of those teachers and leaders who stood out for a piety that with all its inwardness takes shape in tangible forms and institutions. The community of the children of God must needs be a visible one; and so long as such societies exist, they will have a priesthood no matter what the garb may be. In the Torah the sternest and gentlest of the prophets might recognize their very best thought, expressed in a diction which by its very simplicity and charm by far surpasses the measured lines of the prophets, just as the lawgiver keeps himself disengaged from the immediate situation and rising above time focuses himself upon eternity. 'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul; to keep for thy good the commandments of the Lord, and His statutes, which I command thee this day?' In this sum all the strife of contest is hushed, for the highest has been attained, that which for ever made the Torah for Israel 'life and length of days' and constitutes that unity of purpose which dominates every part of it.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOLY SPIRIT

The Dominant Position of the Torah

The unity which the Torah achieved as a finished product secured for the first part of the Scriptures also its unique position. It stands in the consciousness of the Jew as mirrored in the pronouncements of the rabbis, quite apart from the rest. Frequently, Prophets and Writings are subsumed under the name Kabbalah, Tradition, their function consisting in carrying on the eternal principles of the Torah. Poets and prophets were their best interpreters. The Torah just as often stands for the Scriptures in their entirety. It is not always easy to tell whether Torah is used in the wider or narrower sense. It really matters little, as a denial of the authority of the Torah involves a repudiation of the rest.

'Torah from Heaven'

This authority rests, according to the Mishna, upon the dogma of its divine origin. 'He who holds that there is no Torah from Heaven forfeits his share in the world to come'. It is pointedly directed against certain tendencies of the period, which taught the provisional character of the Mosaic dispensation and its ultimate abrogation. The anathema of the Mishna was then extended to such as maintained that 'all

of the Torah is from Heaven except this or that verse which was not spoken by the Holy One, blessed be He, but Moses added it of his own accord.' Here we have

The Doctrine of Verbal Inspiration

the doctrine of 'verbal inspiration', according to which Moses 'acted merely as a copyist writing at dictation'; it implies a levelling of the lighter and the heavier matters; according to Maimonides, the genealogy of the sons of Ham (Genesis 10.6) or the name of the concubine of Eliphaz (36.12) stands on a footing of equality with the First Commandment (Exodus 20.2) and the Shema' (Deuteronomy 6.4). At the same time it has a countervailing effect: it draws the attention away from the human agent to the directive source which is in God. The Torah of Moses it is, but the appellation serves as a mark of identification; we know the books which constitute it. What matters far more is that it is the Torah of God.

Torah linked to the Prophets

Eminent as the position of the Torah is, it has by no means lost contact with that category of the nation's mental activity which from the very beginning made it the combination of priestly teaching and prophetic persuasiveness. The revelation on mount Sinai is glorified; for there a whole people, and be it only for a moment of supreme exaltation, saw God. Moses is elevated far above the other prophets. The Torah itself leads the way. 'My servant Moses is not so: with him do I speak mouth to mouth (as a man

speaketh to his friend, Exodus 33.11), not in dark speeches (by means of visions, or 'mashals'), nor by dreams' (Numbers 12.6–8). Yet the distinction is only one of degree. He was simply the first among his peers (Deuteronomy 18.15). 'By a prophet the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he kept' (Hosea 12.14). The prophets knew themselves as admitted to the divine council (Jeremiah 23.18); Moses was at home there, 'trusted in all of God's house'. The meekest of all men was not jealous of his brother-prophets. 'Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!' Thus in a manner Torah and Prophets are linked together and the three divisions are really reduced to two. In the prayer of Ezra (9.11, 12), a composite citation from Leviticus and Deuteronomy with just an element from Ezekiel is introduced as that which God commanded by the hand of His servants the prophets.

The Holy Spirit What distinguishes all of the prophets alike is the possession of the Spirit, of the Holy Spirit (Isaiah 63.11; Nehemiah 9. 30). Or rather it is the Spirit that possesses them, that uses their body as a vesture which it puts on. The manner in which the Spirit operates is ultimately a mystery, the act of Revelation a miracle, which neither place nor conditions of time can explain, just as the intellectual and temperamental endowment, which fits the prophet for his vocation, remains a free gift of Heaven. There were evil spirits

abroad likewise, just as we speak of evil influences; impure spirits (Hosea 5.4) as well as pure. 'Holy' was the spirit, because it emanated from God. God alone is Holy; all else is holy in a derivative sense because of its association with God. The Temple is God's 'holy house', the hill upon which the Temple was situated His 'holy mount', Jerusalem His 'holy city', Palestine the 'holy land', and Israel God's 'holy people'. The 'holy Spirit' is simply the 'Spirit of God', and the words which become articulate on the prophet's lip when the Spirit takes hold on him are God's 'holy words' (Jeremiah 23.9).

Holy Scriptures

Here we have the origin of the appellation 'Holy Scriptures'. Holy Scripture was at first the single message written down; then a book containing a number of these messages; then any historical book about the acts and utterances of these spokesmen of God; then the books of Wisdom and of lyric poetry, not merely because they dealt, or, by interpretation, were connected with themes and things divine, but for the reason that these likewise were manifestations of the Spirit. Thus the entire collection assumed a unity and became Holy Scriptures, that is, the depository of the sum of Divine Revelation.

Thus it is the Spirit as organ of Revelation that dominates the collection and imparts to it its name.

The Dower of the Spirit

The dower of the Spirit is the outstanding feature in the genius of Israel. There were inspired men among

other nations; Baal had his prophets as well as the Lord. What is common to them all is but the manner and the belief that they were the spokesmen of the Deity. But that which makes the prophets and the singers of Israel incomparable lies in the uniqueness of the things they said rather than in the mode in which they said it. They were indeed the instrument in the hand of God to cause to be ingrained in the people out of which they sprung and in which their whole being was rooted, the consciousness that the earth must be hallowed by bringing down Heaven to rest upon it. Even the primeval chaos was breathed upon by the spirit of God; the same Spirit was infused into man, the crown of creation, and no part of human kind was left without a touch of the Divine. But the fulness of the outpouring of the Spirit was given to Israel; from the first it guided patriarchs and elders, lawgivers and seers, wise teachers and sweet singers, and from step to step it directed scribes and compilers, even as at the last it operated through the collector as he elected the one writing and rejected the other. It was

The Divine Plan

in conformity with the divine plan that Elijah should prevail and not Ahab, Josiah and not Manasseh, Jeremiah and not Hananiah, Ezra and not Sanballat, the separatists and not the friends of 'fusion', the Pietists and not the worldly, the Pharisees and not the Sadducees; yet in a manner that nothing valuable was lost, that in the victorious movements the echoes of the vanquished

still reverberate, that the Word of God is one in its very compositeness, that the broad stream of living waters carries down with it the many confluents.

The Author of the Scriptures

'They asked Wisdom: What shall be done with the sinner? It answered: Evil pursueth sinners (Proverbs 13.12). Equally uncompromising was the reply of stern prophecy: The soul that sinneth shall die (Ezekiel 18.20). The Torah answered: Let him offer a guilt-offering, and he will be forgiven. They asked the Holy One, blessed be He, and He said: Let him repent, and he will be forgiven'. The verdict of God who is the Author of them all is reiterated in the pages of Torah, Prophets, and Writings alike. It is this hopeful message of restoration to divine mercy for the individual and the nation that has stamped this collection with a character all its own and witnesses to the Spirit which emanating from the Holy God dwelt in Israel from Moses to Ezra and from Ezra to Judah the Maccabee, through that long and classic period when the volumes making up Holy Writ were written, revised, and assembled. There are many covers to books; but the covers of the collection of writings constituting the Hebrew Scriptures are the walls of the Synagogue, within which these products of by-gone days are enshrined as a living testimony to that which is Israel's glory, the gift of the Holy Spirit.

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